GANDHI
THE APOSTLE

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

GANDHI THE APOSTLE

HIS TRIAL AND HIS MESSAGE

BY

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR

Author of

"An Open Letter to Lloyd George"

FIRST EDITION

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"Love of my country does not demand that I shall hate and slay those noble and faithful souls who also love theirs, but rather that I should honor them and seek to unite with them for our common good."—Romain Rolland.

"Let not a man glory in this: that he loves his country—let him rather glory in this that he loves his kind."—Baha-O-llah.

"Over the carnage rose prophetic a voice,
"'Be not dishearten'd, affection shall solve the problem of freedom yet.'
* * * * * * * *
"(Were you looking to be held together by lawyers?
"Or by an agreement on a paper? or by arms?"
"Nay, nor the word, nor any living thing, will so cohere.)"—Walt Whitman.

GANDHI

When shall there be again revealed a Saint,
A holy man, a Savior of his race,
When shall the Christ once more reveal His face?
Gautama left his 'bode without complaint,
Till weary, hungered, desolate and faint
He sank beneath the bo-tree with his load,
As on the Path of solitude he stood;
And Jesus died to still the sinner's plaint.

Lives there a man as faithful to his vow?
Mahatma to a bonded race of men?
Aye, Gandhi seeks his nation's soul to free:
Unto the least, ye do it unto Me!
Hath Buddha found in peace Nirvana now;
Or doth a Christ walk on the earth again?

—Benjamin Collins Woodbury ("Unity," Chicago).

Dedicated to

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

John Haynes Holmes,
Community Church,
New York City.

My Dear Comrade Holmes:

I do not look upon you merely as my comrade; you are my teacher, my spiritual mentor. The wild, exuberant dreams of my youthful fancy, charming visions of changing the world overnight, have become regulated and well-ordered since I received lessons in discipline from your teachings, from your lofty, soul-stirring sermons. It is but meet, therefore, that I should bring unto you this offering as an expression, however inadequate, of my gratitude and affection for you.

A consistent pacifist, you have been ever preaching to America, through America to humanity at large, the message of Peace, Tolerance and Good Will; into the ears of a war-weary world you have been ringing the clarion note of eternal truth that **nonviolence is the law of our species as violence is that of the brute.** To your trumpet call have many listened: people from the North and the South, from the East and the West. In your spiritual realm are no antipodes: all live on the same plane, in harmony and in love, enjoying the effulgent radiance of the ideal of the **one community of humanity.**

Seekers after Truth owe an eternal debt of gratitude to you for one of the greatest spiritual discoveries you made. Upon skeptical humanity you

sprung one of the pleasantest surprises by announcing the result of your discovery: that Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest man in the world to-day. That was in April, 1921. You set the world thinking and rendered India a valuable service. In dedicating this book to you, I do not wish to throw upon you any responsibility for the views I have expressed therein; but I do wish to acknowledge my own and India's gratitude to you.

There are many reverend gentlemen strutting about, and many doctors to boot, who inspire in rational minds anything but reverence for them. Personally, I cannot think of you as Reverend John Haynes Holmes nor as Dr. Holmes: it gives me great satisfaction to think of you as the plain Mr. Holmes, and it is as such that I approach you and admire you.

In the seething cauldron of our times is a spiritual turmoil going on all over the world. Our time has been marked out as a period of transition, as the herald of a New Awakening—a Renaissance. The spirit is abroad and seeking to build a Better World. Sociologists and scientists, theologians and non-theologians are all busy setting up organizations and carrying on experiments. The greatest achievement of our times has been the consciousness of world-citizenship that has dawned upon mankind. The old order must go and make room for the new. We want new methods for old, new worlds for old, new wars for old, new churches for old: in short, **a transvaluation of values.** Among others, the Brahmo Samaj in India, the Bahai Cause in Persia, America and elsewhere, Theosophists the world over, the

Quakers in this country and Europe and last but not least the Community Church here in America are trying to broaden men's vision and so doing minister unto the needs of the spirit. One is the spiritual message, many are its forms. The selection of one or another form and the adoption of one or another organization—or all—is purely a matter of individual temperament. In the pioneering efforts of establishing the Community Church as a world ideal, you are tearing old masks asunder and stripping bare theology. In the ideal Community Church—and ours is as near an approach to the ideal as is possible in this imperfect world—universal sympathy, love and brotherhood together with a proper appreciation of duty, beauty and truth are not merely preached but also practiced. May the world listen to the message of the Community Church and its ideals.

In that fervent hope is the book dedicated to you by

Yours affectionately,

HARIDAS MUZUMDAR.

June 1, 1922,
New York City,
U. S. A.

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GANDHI THE APOSTLE

Part I

PANORAMA OF INDIAN HISTORY

"If I were to look over the world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow—in some facts, a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India.

"And if I were to ask myself from what literature we, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and the Romans and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal: in fact, more truly human, a life not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life, again I should point to India."—Max Müller ("India—What Can It Teach Us?")

The mountain ranges to the southeast of Afghanistan have a narrow passage known as the Khyber Pass. As you follow its windings, you see the mountain wall drop away to its foundation; and there lies before you a tawny plain, stretching illimitably into a far-off purple haze.

No spot on earth is more saturated with the romance of history. For that plain is INDIA; and from here or hereabouts was it first surveyed by the swarms of on-coming Aryans, by Alexander and his Greeks, by Scythian, Tartar and Afghan hordes, by Tamerlane, by Baber, by Nadir Shah and many an invader. Behind that purple haze lie Cashmere, the poets' "earthly paradise;" Lahore, the capital, and Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs; the glorious mosques, palaces and mausoleums of Delhi and Agra, of Fattehpur

Sikri and Bijapur; Taxila, the ancient seat of learning and the far-famed Ajanta caves, monuments of ancient glory and culture; the majestic fastnesses of the Rajputs; Benares unique in its "sacred" sublimity; the huge temples of the South with elaborate decorations; upstart smoke-breathing emporiums of the sea-borne trader; mighty rivers whose names are as old as history; battle-fields by the score, from Kurukshetra of Mahabharat to the thrice-ensanguined Panipat of history, from Plassey to Sobraon and Gujrat, where East came to grips with West; and encircling it all, the white pinnacles of the most tremendous mountain barrier in the world whose solitudes are impenetrable.

I. Hinduism, the "Eternal Religion" of the Vedas

Guarded by the Himalayas on the north and surrounded by the sea on other sides, India looks as if she had been meant by nature to remain aloof from the rest of the world and to develop her civilization in isolation, untouched by the currents that stir humanity abroad. And yet there is hardly any country in the world that has such an eventful record of intercourse with other countries. The geography of India points to her natural isolation, but her history reveals other facts. The history of the world is in lurid light until the momentous movement of Aryan migration and expansion. Somewhere from Central Asia these Aryans spread over a large portion of the earth, carrying with them the rudiments of organization and civilization. Their entrance into India through the Khyber Pass was resisted by the Dravidians, the original inhabitants of the land. And right here we come upon a conflict of opinions. Some maintain that the higher civilization of the Dravidians was swept away by the avalanche of the on-rushing Aryans; whereas others maintain that the peaceful Dravidian was comfortably vegetating on the soil when he was driven to the south by the stalwart Aryan. Of this period no reliable records are to be had either in books

or in rocks—neither does the running brook tell tales of history. Be that as it may, the Aryans found themselves in a rich land, specially endowed by nature.

Here the necessaries of life were to be obtained merely for the asking; nay, nature put all things into their hands directly, whereas the pioneering cousins of the Indo-Aryans in Europe had to struggle hard with the soil for their maintenance. The majesty of the immovable mountains, the luxuriance of the Gangetic plains, the easy subjugation of the Dravidians and their unquestioning subservience to the master-race—all these induced in the Aryans a sense of easy-goingness. Physical exertion having been needless, they devoted their energies to the pursuit and investigation of the eternal values of life. Brooding over the problems of existence, infinity and reality, they fell into trances which inspired the Vedic hymns of great spiritual significance. The Vedas are claimed by the Hindus to be the revelation of God just as the followers of other religions claim their Bibles to be divine revelations. In point of antiquity the Vedas are unsurpassed; they embody the first and, in many respects, the finest attempt of the human mind to solve the riddle of the universe and to seek the spiritual values of life. The Vedas are four in number; the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda and the Atharva-Veda. They contain hymns and invocations to the Supreme Deity and are "the earliest religious outpourings that have assumed anything like literary form." Not a few of the hymns are beautiful and show a gift of philosophic penetration, rare among the people of that early date. Besides the Vedas, the religious philosophic literature of India that originated at this time contains Aranyakas (i. e., "jungle books" for the use of anchorites) and the Upanishads which are the most penetrating philosophic treaties, dealing with and expounding the spiritual values inspirationally sung of in the Vedas. The doctrines of the Upanishads or "the secret texts" are known as Vedanta—the end or consummation of the Vedas.

The Upanishads have been given an unstinted meed of praise by scholars and savants, alike of the East and the West. "There is no study," says Schopenhauer, "more beneficial and elevating to mankind than the study of the Upanishads (Vedanta). It has been the solace of my life, and it will be the solace of my death." Says Max Müller, "If philosophy is meant to be a preparation for a happy death, or Euthanasia, I know of no better preparation for it than the Vedanta philosophy."

"Who art thou? Whence comest thou? Whither goest thou? What governs the universe? What is the essence of being?" In seeking answer to such-like queries, the Aryan thinkers discovered the laws of thought and traced the causes of phenomena. Untrammelled by the fetters of doctrines, dogmas or creeds, those truth-seekers founded a great many schools of thought; such as, atheistic, agnostic, nihilistic, materialistic, plurastic, dualistic, spiritualistic, monotheistic, monistic, etc. They had thus anticipated the conclusions of Plato, Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Hegel, Kant, Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer, Haeckel and other Western thinkers. "Indeed, if I may be allowed the anachronism," remarks Sir M. Monier Willaims, in his **Brahminism and Hinduism,** "the Hindus were Spinozites more than two thousand years before the existence of Spinoza; and Darwinians many centures before Darwin, and evolutionists many centuries before the doctrine of evolution had been accepted by the scientists of our time, and before any word like 'evolution' existed in any language of the world."

The principal systems of Hindu Philosophy are six in number. (I) The Vaisheshika Philosophy of Kanada traces the origin of the Universe to atoms and molecules. This system teaches that the atoms and molecules are not created by God but are eternal with Him. The power, however, which combines two atoms and makes aggregates of atoms, comes from God, who is personal, who possesses knowledge, de-

sire and will, and who is the Supreme Lord and Governor of all phenomena. (II) The Nyaya philosophy of Gautama deals with the true knowledge of nature, soul and God and the attainment of ultimate freedom. **Father of the first system of logic in the world,** Gautama is sometimes referred to as the Aristotle of India. The Hindu syllogism consists of five parts: (1) proposition, (2) reason, (3) instance, (4) application of the reason, (5) conclusion. By omitting two parts of this, we obtain an Aristotelian syllogism. "The Hindus invented logic, the Greeks perfected it," says Romesh Chunder Dutt. It is said that Pythagoras went to India to gather the wisdom of the Hindus and since his time there was close intercourse between India and Greece. So, it is not unlikely that the Greeks learned their first lessons in logic from the Hindus. (III) The Sankhya system of Kapila deals with the theory of evolution. Kapila, who lived about 700 B. C., rejected the atomic theory and traced the origin of atoms to one eternal cosmic energy which he called Prakriti (Cf. Latin Procreatrix, the creative energy). The whole phenomenal universe, according to this school, has evolved out of the one cosmic energy which is primordial and eternal. Kapila defined atoms as force-centers, which correspond to the eons and electrons of modern science. It was Kapila who for the first time explained creation as the result of attraction and repulsion, which literally means love and hatred, of atoms. The ultimate conclusions of this system, arrived at through observation, experiment and induction, are entirely in accord with those of modern science: namely, that, Something cannot come out of nothing; The effect lies in the cause, i. e., the effect is the cause reproduced; Destruction means the reversion of an effect to its casual state; The laws of nature are uniform and regular throughout; The building up of the cosmos is the result of the evolution of the Cosmic Energy. (IV) Whereas Kapila denied the existence of a Creator, the Yoga philosophy of Patanjali, while accept-

ting the theory of evolution, asserted the existence of a cosmic Purush (personal God) who is formless, infinite, omniscient and unaffected by affliction, activity, desires, etc. The Yoga system deals with the higher psychology of the human mind. The goal of the Yoga school is to separate Purush from Prakriti (Mind from Matter) and make it reach **Kaivalya,** or final emancipation from the bondage of nature and its qualities. Pantanjali explains the science of concentration and meditation, the science of breath, clairaudience, telepathy and other psychic powers; and thereby shows how one can attain God-consciousness in this life. (V) Jaimini's system is called Purva Mimansa (literally meaning, Former Investigation). It describes how the rituals and other ceremonials spoken of in the Vedas are to be performed. Jaimini explains the divine and eternal attributes of the Vedas, the authoritative sources of knowledge, the relation between word and thought, and finally, how this world is the manifestation of **Logos,** the eternal thought-form which exists in the Cosmic Mind. (VI) Lastly comes the Uttar Mimansa or the Vedanta philosophy, most popular in India, and highly esteemed by many Western philosophers. "The ultimate reality of the universe, according to Vedanta, is the one Absolute Substance which is beyond subject and object, which is the infinite source of intelligence or knowledge, of consciousness and blissfulness, which is one and not many. It is called in Sanskrit **Brahman.** It is the same as the Good of Plato, the Ding-an-Sich or the transcendental Thing-in-Itself of Kant, the Will of Schopenhauer, the **Substantia** of Spinoza, the Over-Soul of Emerson, the Unknowable of Herbert Spencer, the Divine Essence of the Heavenly Father of the Christians and of Allah of the Mohammedans. It is also the true nature of Buddha and of Christ. It pervades the universe. It is one and universal. No one can divide it; it is indivisible. This is the reality of the universe, says Vedanta. . . . Philosophy and religion must always be in perfect harmony.

Ernest Haeckel, in his **Riddle of the Universe,** tries to give a foundation to monistic religion; but his monism is one-sided, because he says that the ultimate substance of the universe is unintelligent. According to Vedanta, however, the final substance of the Universe is Brahman, which is **Satt** or absolute existence, **Chit** or absolute intelligence, and **Ananda** or absolute bliss. Vedanta teaches that that which is the substance of our souls must possess intelligence, consciousness and blissfulness. Thus Vedanta lays the true foundation of a universal religion which is monistic or non-dualistic."*

The Vedas have their Vedangas and Upavedas, i. e., subsidiary Vedas. The purpose of the Vedangas is to preserve the Vedic texts and they deal with (1) **Shiksha** or the science of phonetics and pronunciation, (2) **Chhandas** or metre, (3) **Vyakarana** or grammar, (4) **Nirukta** or Etymology, (5) **Kalpa** or religious practice, (6) **Jyotish** or astronomy and astrology. The Upavedas treat of more distinctly secular subjects such as: (1) **Ayurveda** or the science of life, i. e., medicine, (2) **Dhanurveda,** or the science of war (literally, of archery), (3) **Gandharvaveda,** or music, and (4) **Arthashastra,** or the science of wealth, comprising treatises on architecture, art and economics.

The Vedas are somtimes known as **Shrutis,** i. e., things heard from divine sources; besides the Shrutis there is a vast body of Literature considered semi-divine in its origin, called the **Smritri,** i. e., things remembered. Of the four Smritis, the Manu-Smriti or the Code of Manu is the most important. Today Roman Law forms the basis of the law codes of the civilized world, but as Louis Jacolliot in his book **"The Bible in India"** has shown, Roman Law itself was derived from the Laws of Manu; indeed the Mosaic Laws and the Laws of the Egyptian Minos are all derived from Manu according to this eminent authority.

*Quoted from "India and Her People" by Swami Abhedananda.

The vigorous mental activity of the Aryan thinkers found its expression in the writing of two great epics of India, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, which contain some of the most beautiful ethical teachings couched in lofty words. To this vast treasure-house of Hindu religio-philosophic literature was added a little later on the Itihasa or history and Puranas or narratives of ancient events. The date of this immense literature is put somewhere between 7,000 B. C. and 700 B. C., not to stretch it milleniums earlier as some scholars incline to.

II. BUDDHISM

With the advent of Buddhism, the uncertainty of date vanishes. The records of Buddist India are corroborated by the historical accounts of Pliny, Strabo, Megasthenes, Herodotus, Porphyry, Fa-Hien, Huen-Tsang, I-Tsing and others. In order to preserve their ascendency and purity of blood, the Aryans drew a line of racial distinction between themselves and the Dravidians; no Dravidian was allowed to intermarry with the Aryan. This was the beginning of the caste system. And for the well-regulated ordering of society the Aryans divided their own community into three distinct groups; the Brahmans or priests, the Kshatriyas or administrators-soldiers and Vaishyas or merchants. Originally these groups were not hereditary and intermarriages were permissible, the study of the Vedas having been enjoined upon them all. But by the 6th century B. C. these groups became inelastic and hereditary, the Brahman hierarchy imposing its will upon the community in the most tyrannical manner. Asceticism had come to be looked upon as a virtue of the highest type and a program of physical austerities had been worked out. Speculation on the hereafter had become so engrossing that the practical humanities were neglected. Against these degenerate elements of the otherwise lofty Hindu religion, Buddha voiced his emphatic protest.

Asceticism he repudiated as being inimical to the health and vigor of mind and body. He denounced the caste system as being undemocratic and degrading. Instead of indulging in speculation on the hereafter, he preached that man had better attend to the "Four noble truths":

"First. The noble truth about **suffering.** Birth is painful, disease is painful, death is painful, contact with the unpleasant is painful and painful is separation from the pleasant.

"Second. The noble truth about the **cause** of suffering. Verily it is this thirst or craving, causing the renewal of existence, the craving for the gratification of the passions, or the craving for a future life, or for success in this life.

"Third. The noble truth of the **cessation** of suffering. Verily it is the quenching of this very thirst, the laying aside of the thirst.

"Fourth. The noble truth concerning **the path** that leads to the cessation of suffering. Verily it is the noble eight-fold path, viz:

"1. Right views; free from superstition or delusion.

"2. Right aims: high and worthy of an intelligent, earnest man.

"3. Right speech: kindly, open, truthful.

"4. Right conduct: peaceful, honest, pure.

"5. Right livelihood: bringing hurt or danger to no living thing.

"6. Right effort: in self-training or self-control.

"7. Right mindfulness: the active, watchful mind.

"8. Right contemplation: earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life."

The Apostle of the blessed calm of Nirvana, the bliss begotten of release from futile desires, Gautama the "Enlightened One," brought to his people and the world a message which is essentially ethical, practical and humanitarian. The Buddist Decalogue further emphasizes this lesson.

"1. Ye shall slay no living thing.
"2. Ye shall not take that which is not given.
"3. Ye shall not act wrongfully touching the bodily desires.
"4. Ye shall drink no maddening drink.
"5. Ye shall speak no lie.
"6. Accept no gold or silver.
"7. Shun luxurious bed.
"8. Abstain from late meals.
"9. Avoid public amusements.
"10. Abstain from expensive dress."

Of these the first five are binding alike on the laity and the clergy, whereas the last five are binding on the clergy alone who have consecrated their lives to the propagation of the Truth of the Buddha.*

"My doctrine," says Buddha, "makes no distinction between high and low, rich and poor, it is like the sky, it has room for all and like water it washes all alike. . . . To him in whom love dwells the whole world is but one family. Hatred is never overcome by hatred, this is an ancient rule. The Greatest victor is he who conquers himself. Overcome evil with good and lying with truth. . . ."

To his disciples, the Blessed One says, "Go ye forth, O brethren, and wander over the world, for the sake of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good and the weal and the gain of gods and men. Proclaim the teaching lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter. Set forth the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity.

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*Synchronous with Buddhism arose another great religion which also pinned its faith in Ahimsa (non-violence in its negative aspect and love in its positive form). Just as Gautama gave up his royal rank in quest of truth, so also did Mahavira give up his nobleman's rank and joined the ascetic order of Parsvanath. Being dissatisfied with it, he started a religion of his own, known as Jainism. The Jains have been a very conscientious, peace-loving, magnanimous, non-violent group of people.—H. T. M.

"Be ye lamps unto yourselves, betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp, hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Whosoever shall be a lamp unto themselves, looking not for refuge to anyone besides themselves, it is they who shall reach the topmost height.

"Behold, now, I exhort you, brethren: work out your own salvation with diligence."

Inspired by the lofty teachings of Buddha, the Bhikshus or Buddhist monks wandered over the different parts of the world, from Ceylon to Siberia, from China to Egypt; and preached the sublime ethics of renunciation of worldly desires, universal brotherhood, peace on earth and good-will among men in places such as Alexandria, Syria and Palestine long before the advent of the Nazarene. Besides imparting civilization to far-off parts of the world, Buddhism exercised its influence in India from 500 B. C. to 600 A. C. and produced in the person of Asoka, who reigned from 273 to 232 B. C., the "greatest emporer on record." But the Hindu priesthood had never completely lost its power and now after a thousand years they began actively to regain their ascendency once more, when another stream of thought and civilization, "unique in its character," came in contact with India. This new force was:

III. ISLAM

The first experiences of India's contact with outsiders have always been unpleasant. The Dravidians felt the whips of the Aryans. And now the Aryans felt the scorpion-stings of the Mohammedans. The position of Hindu princes like Raja Jaipal of Bhatinda, Rajyapala, the Parihara king of Kanauj, Dhanga, the ruler of Chandel kingdom and others was made greatly insecure by Amir Sabutkigin of Ghazni. That was in the last decade of the 10th century. Mohammed Sultan of Ghazni carried on the work of his predecessor and descended on India as many as seventeen

times, plundering, looting, burning, destroying temples and carrying off captives as slaves to his capital. It was, however, Mohammed Ghori (1175-1206) who laid the foundations of Mohammedan rule at Delhi, **the Capital of India. The Mohammedan empire** of Delhi expanded between 1175 and 1340 to its highest level, and then it began to sink under the pressure of new Hindu and petty Mohammedan princes that arose in the country. When Hindus and Mohammedans were disputing one with another for political ascendency at Delhi, the Mogul Prince Baber, descended from Timur and Chenghis Khan, made an invasion of Delhi in 1526 and made himself emperor of Delhi. The Mogul Empire attained its zenith in the reign of Akber, who reigned from 1556 to 1605, and who was easily the most outstanding sovereign of his times, more tolerant toward other religions than the benighted European princes and princesses of the sixteenth century, more liberal and ahead of his times by many a century in his conception of a synthesis of all religions into a universal one. The Mogul Empire, however, embraced the largest territorial area under Aurangzeb (who reigned from 1659 to 1707), the fanatical zealot of Islam. After his death there was no central power competent enough to govern India in a peaceful and orderly manner. The rise of the Mahrattas in the South under the leadership of Sivaji challenged the Mogul ascendency, and the viceroys of the Mogul Emperor in Bengal, Oudh and other provinces made themselves independent. This confusion was made worse confounded by the interplay of another set of alien forces, namely the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French, who all came to India as peaceful traders and cast their lustful eyes on the riches of the people of Hindusthan who had unsuspectingly received them with open arms. But to that we shall devote our attention later on. First, let us try to understand what Mohammedanism really stands

for and what it has contributed to India and to the world.

"Chronologically the latest of the great Moral leaders, Mohammed, like Moses, the Prophets, Jesus and Paul, belonged to the Semitic branch of the human family. He was the founder of the least appreciated and most misunderstood of the world's great religions. It originated thirteen centuries ago on the Arabian peninsula, where the streams of commerce and culture met and mingled in the Middle Ages, where the markets of exchange were stationed for the treasures of India and the products of the Mediterranean coasts. There this religion was established in the unprecedented short period of twenty years and, unlike many another religion, without the aid of any royal patronage and support. Buddhism had its Asoka, Zoroastrianism its Vishtaspa, Judaism its Joshua, Christianity its Constantine, but Mohammedanism had no person of royal rank and power to assist in its establishment and spread.

"Today this religion is acknowledged by nearly two hundred and fifty million souls and extends over an area equal to one-third of the globe. From Arabia it spread eastward over Persia, Turkestan, Afghanistan; westward, across Syria, Asia Minor, Turkey; southward, to Africa, covering more than half of that continent. It found its way to India, and beyond, to the islands of Sumatra, Java and Borneo.

"Already within the first fifty years of its formation this religion extended from the Indus to the Tagus and from the Volga to the Arabian Sea. The Niger and the Nile, the Jordan and the Ganges, the Maritza and the Yang-tse-Kiang, all fertilize Mohammedan soil. Twice did this religion threaten to overrun Europe. Days there have been that were big with the fate of the world. On such a day Themistocles met Xerxes, ordaining that Europe should receive her civilization from Greece rather than from Persia. On such a day, in the year 732, Charles Martel met Abd-er-Rahman and forthwith the cross, not

the crescent, became the emblem of the European faith. So, again, in 1683, when John, King of Poland, at the head of twenty thousand soldiers defeated the Mohammedan army at Vienna, it was once more decreed that Mohammedanism should not be the religion of Europe. Yet it must be remembered that **to the early representatives of this faith the world's debt is incalculably great.** For it was they who transmitted the treasures of Greek literature from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance; they who originated the graceful art forms of which the Taj-Mahal and the Alhambra are the most famous examples. It was they who contributed to the sciences of algebra and chemistry, astronomy and medicine; they who dotted the Saracen empire with universities and who built at Bagdad and at Cairo the most renowned libraries in the world. During those centuries of ecclesiastical despotism when the Christian Church suppressed all intellectual activities save those that were theological, causing the talent that reproduces to supplant the genius that creates, Mohammedans did all in their power to encourage and stimulate research in every branch of human inquiry. No mediæval pope or bishop ever sent thanks to a thinker for scientific discovery, but the sheik, Ul-Islam, sent congratulations and the benedictions of Allah to Al Hassan for his discovery of a fundamental law in optics. When London was a city of hovels and the stench in its streets such that no one could breathe its polluted air with impunity, Cordova was noted for the cleanliness and beauty of her streets and squares. Arabic is the most widely spoken language in the world and though Chinese characters are used by more people, knowledge of Arabic will carry one farther round the world. And with the Arabic vocabulary has gone the Mohammedan religion. Today we decorate our walls and floors with fabrics that Mohammedans taught us to weave. We regale our senses with perfumes they taught us to make, we teach our children the algebra and higher mathematics which they taught the

fathers." Thus Mr. Alfred W. Martin, of the Ethical Culture Society, New York City, in his book "Great Religious Teachers of the East." (Heavy type is mine.)

Concerning Mohammed and his followers, the Christians have fantastic notions. The Christian thinks that the Mohammedan is marked by two characteristics: namely, that he is addicted to the pleasant vice of polygamy and that when he wants a little diversion from polygamous pursuits, he takes to slaughtering the lamb-like innocent Christians. Effeminacy and brutality cannot produce lasting works; and if they have produced lasting works as noted above, the Mohammedans were certainly neither effeminate nor brutal. Doubtless, they have on occasions taken up the sword for the spread and defense of their religion. But their zeal for the salvation of the "heathen" socalled did not surpass the ferocity of the Franciscan Friars who spread the Gospel of meekness and humility by "fire and sword."

"The rapidity of the spread of Islam, the religion of Mohammed, and the dramatic suddenness with which the adherents of his creed rose to a position of dominant sovereignty constitute one of the marvels, or it might be said miracles of history. The prophet Mohammed, a native of Mecca, was more than fifty years of age before he attained any considerable success. He believed himself to be the divinely appointed messenger of a revelation destined to supersede the Jewish and Christian religions, as well as the rude paganism of his countrymen. His fellow-countrymen in Mecca were so hostile that in A. D. 622 he was obliged to quit his birthplace and take refuge at Medina. * * * The remaining ten years of his life sufficed to make him substantially the sovereign of Arabia and the accepted Prophet of the Arabs. Soon after his death in A. D. 632 his successors, the early Khalifs (Caliphs) found themselves in conflict with the mighty Persian and Byzantine empires. Nothing could withstand the furious enthusiasm of the Arabs

from the desert, beneath whose attack ancient thrones tottered and fell. Within the brief space of eighty years from the Prophet's death his Arab followers had become the masters, not only of Arabia, but of Persia, Syria, western Turkistan, Sind, Egypt and southern Spain."*

To refute the preposterous notion of the apostacy of Mohammed one needs only to quote two or three significant events in his life. When tempting offers of wealth were made to him in return for desisting from preaching "the truth revealed to him," Mohammed braveley said, "Were I to be offered the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left hand to induce me to abandon my undertaking, the offer would be futile, for I will not rest until the Lord carry His cause to victory, or till I die for it." Such surely is not the language nor the conduct of an imposter. While they were in hiding, his friend and disciple said despairingly, "We are only two," whereupon Mohammed said, "There is a Third with us: God." What more eloquent testimony to his mission is needed? He made no claim to be infallible, sinless or supernatural. "Praise me not," said he "as Jesus was praised. I am liable to err as other men—I too need forgiveness for sin."

What historian worthy the name does not know of the greatness, gentleness and nobility of Abu-Bekr, the Prophet's close friend and supporter, and of the Caliph Omar, his successor? The followers of Mohammed do not concern themselves with the airy flights of metaphysics nor with the mysteries of introspection: they take their stand on but a few tangible principles, which are inviolate and sacred to them—namely: that Mohammed was the messenger of God, Allah, who is One and the sole author of creation; that the Quran (Koran) is the revealed word of God; that idolatry is blasphemous; that prohibition of spirituous liquors is compulsory because it is ordained in

*Quoted from "The Oxford History of India" by V. A. Smith.

the Quran; that no distinctions exist in race, color or station between the followers of Mohammed, who among themselves constitute a "spiritual democracy." The one wholesome effect of the Mohammedan religion has been the assertion of the dignity of manhood.

The unity of God has always been emphasized by the many paths of Hinduism. But sometimes the element of mysticism and the speculations of philosophy obscure that cardinal principle. Hence the prominence given by Islam to the unity of God could not escape influencing Hindu thought and establishing new schools. The most famous of those noble souls who drank at the fountains of both Hinduism and Mohammedism are Ramanand (fourteenth century); Kabir, his follower and the founder of Kabirpanth* ("the way of Kabir"); and Nanak who established Sikhism in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Both Hindus and Mohammedans were spiritually fraternized—what is more the new thought destroyed caste distinctions and fostered the spirit of unity. In the midst of political turmoils and confusion, when this spiritual renascence was dawning upon the land, a new light began to penetrate from afar—the light of Christ:

IV. CHRISTIANITY

The western world still treads the path trodden more than two thousand years ago by the Hellenic paganism which produced, among others, such rare thinkers and creative geniuses as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Phidias and Homer. True enough that the Greeks were subdued by the prowess of the rising Roman Empire, but that only prepared the way for the peaceful penetration and conquest of Rome by the Greek civilization. And paganism, with its worship of the beautiful, would have today been the creed of the Western world, had it not been for the Roman Em-

*"The Songs of Kabir" by Tagore is very illuminating.—H. M.

peror Constantine the Great, who after his conversion in the beginning of the fourth century, became the staunchest champion of Christianity. Thenceforth was European life consecrated to the Vision of the Flaming Cross instead of the Olympian Zeus of Phidias.

With the crucifixion of the gentle yet mighty Jesus was born Christianity, and the message of healing and salvation was being spread over Palestine, Egypt and Europe. But the way of non-resistance, the gospel of good-will among men, the glad tidings of the coming Kingdom of God on earth, did not meet with the approbation of the Western mind which had developed a strong sense of material enjoyment—was it not rather enslavement? Thus was enacted the greatest farce of history—namely, Bible in hand, humility in preaching, non-resistance on their lips, the professors of Christianity, whenever they came in contact one with another, or with the followers of other religions, heartily took up the sword and settled disputes by arson, murder and reprisals. That the propagation and periodic reformations of a religion denying the utility of force and the wisdom of violence, should have involved warfare and bloodshed is a sad commentary indeed—a commentary not on the religion, however, but on the people who professed it.

For the Christianity of Christ is indeed the most beautiful conception on earth. Born in a lowly manger, the carpenter of Nazareth after the assumption of his ministry as the Christ, the "Anointed," began to wield far-reaching influence on the course of human events. "The gospel of Christianity, therefore, as derived from Jesus, consists, not in obedience to an external standard, but in what may be called spiritual righteousness, or the morality of the spirit. . . . According to this, each human being is a child of God, endowed with power to come into perfect harmony with Him, and the single-hearted desire for that harmony is the supreme motive for doing what is right. To become truly children of their heavenly Father, to

become worthy of their divine kinship, this, he held, is the highest reason why men and women should do what is right. Hence, the ideal life, according to Jesus, is the life of the spirit, the life of union with the Eternal Life, the life of self-dedication to supreme holiness. Note that the concern of Jesus is exclusively with individual men and women and their reproduction of the divine love. . . . He came . . . to refine men's hearts, to quicken in each human soul he addressed the sense of its divine origin, and its infinite possibilities and to show forth the real moral worth of human actions."*

Paul of Tarsus, the Apostles, Constantine, St. Francis of Assissi, Savonarola, Martin Luther, Ignatius Loyola, Calvin, Menno Simons, John Knox, George Fox, John Wesley, Swenborg, Tolstoy—with the deeds of such-like souls is the history of Christendom deeply saturated. Lofty motives and high ideals inspired the leaders of Christianity to establish new groups, sects and denominations. This diverstiy has been at once the strength and weakness of Christianity —it has acted both as an accelerant and as a deterrent to progress. Among other things it brought into play sectarian bigotry and religious intolerance, the inquisition, the burnings at the stake and other things which are inhuman, not to speak un-Christian. Thus an intrinsically sound and beautiful gospel has been ill used and abused.

Ever since its inception, the Church of Christ has been divided against itself. These divisions and wranglings became acute by the fifteenth century. Not only was Europe divided religiously but now it also found a cause for further dissensions and feuds in the economic field. The Arabs having an uninterrupted access to Europe from the mainland of India acted as middlemen in the Indo-European business transactions. Venice and Genoa were the great trading centers of Europe in those days. And the Euro-

*"Great Religious Teachers of the East," by A. W. Martin.

pean nations now became seized with lust for the gold of India. In search for a sea-route to India, Columbus in 1492 came upon and discovered the New World. Vasco da Gama was the first European to reach India by a sea-route; he landed at Calicut in 1498, and since that day despite the Arab merchants' efforts the Portugese trade of India increased. For a whole century the Portuguese retained their supremacy of Indian trade in spices, fabrics, perfumes and other merchandise. But in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch and the English began simultaneously to contest Portuguese monopoly of Indian trade and very soon destroyed it. Now the Dutch and the English trading companies became rivals, but by 1650, the Dutch power was all but destroyed. And now came into the field another rival with perhaps greater mettle and audacity than the English, namely the French. Though the French Trading Company was started in 1664, that is, 64 years later than the English East India Company, yet by the year 1750 the French proved to be the most formidable rivals the English had as yet met. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, however, were well matched on the English side by Robert Clive and Stringer Lawrence. The Treaty of Paris which brought to a close the Seven Years' War (1757-63), during which period the English and the French were busy fighting each other all over the globe, decided the issue in favor of England and against France.

The Mogul Empire was tottering; its governors in the far-flung parts of India were constituting themselves into independent sovereigns; the Mahratta power was rising in the south; an adventurous soldier named Hyder Ali was establishing a Kingdom for himself—there was political chaos in the country. Now that the last European rival had been eliminated from the field, the English began very effectively to play the imperialist game of "Divide and Rule." There followed days of upstart unscrupulous brigandage—the Clives and the Hastingses are glorified by British

historians as great empire-builders; but it was these very empire-builders who "bled India white," both literally and metaphorically. Indigenous institutions and industries were ruthlessly trampled underfoot—the race of the beautiful muslin weavers of Dacca was wiped out so that the machine-made goods of England might be forced on the people of India. Clive, Hastings, Wellesley, Hardinge, Dalhousie, Curzon and other empire-builders who are considered great men by the English are looked upon in another light by the Indians.

From 1757 to 1857, for a full hundred years the affairs of India were managed by a trading company—yes, by a business corporation. Discontent of the masses, resentment of alien domination, hard knocks of poverty, pangs of hunger—all these were made manifest in the revolt of the Indian princes, princesses and soldiers against the British Raj (Rule). The rebellion was suppressed and order was restored by the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria (1858). The development of constitutional political life along Western lines we shall trace later on. But it will be interesting at this stage to turn to the work done by the Christian missionaries and the reaction made by Christianity upon India.

The Jesuit missions were well received at the court of Akber, but his very tolerance of all religions was disliked by the Jesuits who had already set up an Inquisition Court at Goa, which port was—and still is—in Portguese hands. "An Englishman named John Mildenhall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth asking for trade facilities equal to those granted to the Portuguese, visited Akber in the last year of his life (1605), and did his best to oppose the Jesuits with their own weapons of intrigue and bribery."* At one time the Jesuits entertained hopes of converting the whole of India, but neither the Hindus, particularly the high-caste, nor the Mohammedans were anxious

*Oxford History of India—V. A. Smith, pp. 362.

to listen to their teachings. However, when in 1706 some Danish missionaries came to Tranquebar in Southern India, things began to change a great deal. They studied the languages of India, these Danish missionaries, and established some schools for the purpose of teaching the Bible. In 1727 the first English mission founded in India a society for promoting Christian knowledge but it did not make any headway until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the third missionary society of the English Baptists was established in Bengal. The names of Carey and Marshman are closely linked up with the pioneering efforts of Christian missionaries toward introducing Western education in India.

Even though the Christian missionaries were anxious to impart education to the people along Western lines, the East India Company hesitated to encourage education of any kind at all. When in 1792, William Wilberforce proposed to add two clauses to the Charter Act of the next year for sending out schoolmasters to India, the Directors of the Company strongly objected to the proposal. "On that occasion one of the Directors stated that we had just lost America from our folly in having allowed the establishment of schools and colleges, and that it would not do for us to repeat the same act of folly in regard to India; if the natives required anything in the way of education they must come to England for it."** This policy is at the bottom of the present educational system established by the British government in the land. This point is conclusively proven by the fact that until 1835 no appreciable progress was made in the promotion of education and when education began to spread, Lord Curzon obstructed its progress in 1904 by the passage of his notorious Indian Universities Act.

Educating the backward people, forsooth!—these, for instance, are the brilliant records of British Administration. In 1781, Warren Hastings established a Mohammedan College at Calcutta and in 1792 Lord

**J. C. Marshman's Evidence, Lords' Second Report, 1853.

Cornwallis established a Sanskrit College at Benares. In 1813 for the first time the British Parliament offered the sum of £10,000—what a munificent sum!—from the revenue of India to be appropriated for the education of the people of the three provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. Over this proposition, however, the administration slept until 1823. In the meanwhile, under the leadership of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, the Maker of Modern India, the energetic Mr. David Hare, the illiterate English watchmaker of Calcutta, established the Hare School in 1817. "It was the first respectable English seminary in Bengal, and was founded by the Hindus themselves before the British government did anything for education in India."

The findings of Sir Thomas Munroe, the Governor of Madras, whose investigation lasted from 1822 to 1826, showed that under the old Hindu system, in the Presidency (or Province) of Madras alone, the number of Hindu schools and colleges amounted to 12,498 among a population of something over twelve million. He further said in his report: "I am inclined to estimate the portion of the whole population who receive school education to be nearer one-third than one-fourth of the whole. The state of education exhibited, low as it is, compared with our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant time." In 1823, according to Lord Elphinstone's findings, there existed in Bombay Presidency 1,705 Hindu schools and colleges, and in 1835 Lord Bentinck discovered that in Bengal among a population of seven million people, there were 3,355 schools. "In every village there was an elementary school where the village boys were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the elements of mensuration. These elementary schools were called **Pathasalas**, or school-houses. Besides these, there were collegiate institutions like the **Parishads** * * * for higher education in grammar, mathematics, rhetoric, poetry, astronomy and other branches of science and philosophy, as they were known to the Hindus at that time.

The proportion of the latter to the former, that is of collegiate schools to village schools, was one to three."*

The years 1835 and 1854 are important landmarks in the history of India. In 1835 Lord Macaulay's famous note (which, however, indulged in unnecessary, notorious rhetoric), was passed by Lord Bentinck with the help and support of such progressive Indians as Rajah Ram Moham Roy, Sir Rajah Radhakant Deb Bahadur, Romoy Dutt and Takawa Jung, the Mohammedan Nawab of Bengal. Thenceforth English became the language of superior education and the promotion of European literature and science the chief aim of Indian education. And in 1854, the Lords' Committee recommended the establishing of Universities on the model of the London University in the three Presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, which came into being in 1857. The Punjab Universtiy was established in 1882, and in 1887 another was established at Allahabad. Thus by the end of the nineteenth century, England established five universities in a population of about three hundred million!

The efforts of the Christian missionaries toward spreading education in India have been very laudable indeed. They have studied the languages of India, translated the Bible into many of them and established elementary schools, English High Schools and even Colleges. Their work of uplifting the untouchable pariahs deserves an unstinted meed of praise. Unfortunately, however, this bright side is not without its dark counterpart. Not with the gentleness of Jesus, nor with the calvary of Christ do the missionaries approach other peoples. Their Savior's name they profess, but His principles they rarely, if ever, practice. They put on airs of superiority and with unequalled arrogance and narrow-mindedness criticize and abuse older—and in many respects su-

*Quoted from "India and Her People" by Swami Abhedananda.

perior—peoples, cultures and civilizations. There are, however, fine exceptions, such as the English missionaries Andrews and Pearson and the American, Mr. S. E. Stokes, of Philadelphia Quaker parentage, who has married a Hindu lady and lives as a Hindu and is, like Andrews, committed to the Independence of India by Gandhi's methods of non-violent non-cooperation.

The record of the British government, however, is dark and dismal. Education is neither free nor compulsory—not even elementary education—aye, there are not enough schools to accommodate all the children of school-going age. The people's money is utilized toward maintaining the costliest system of administration in the world and the tax-payer is denied the elementary rights of a citizen, namely, free education, pure air and decent living. Rev. J. T. Sunderland's testimony deserves careful consideration: "Much credit has been given to the (British) Indian government for education. It has done some good work in this direction, for which let it have full praise. But how little has it done compared with the need, or compared with what the people want, or compared with its ability, if it would only use its resources primarily for India's good! Why has so little of the people's money been spent for education? In the schools of India, high and low, there are some 4,428,000 scholars (if we include the native states).* But what is this number in a population nearly as large as that of all Europe! How much does the Indian government spend annually for the population! The munificent sum of a penny and a fifth per head of the population! Think of it! * * * With their native industries so badly broken down, the Indian people have special need for industrial, technical and practical education. But their rulers are giving them almost nothing of this

*Proportionately there are more schools in some Native States than in British India. Primary education in Baroda is free and compulsory—both for boys and girls.—H. M.

kind. Britain's neglect of education is a dark stain upon her treatment of India."** The picture is completed by the words of Mr. Reddy, an English friend of India: "England, through her missionaries, offered the people of India thrones of gold in another world, but refused them a simple chair in this world."

All told, more blood has been made to flow on the ensanguined battle-fields of the world by the Christians than by the followers of any other religion. They have inflicted severer injustice, cruelty and misery upon the world, and yet one feels that India's history would have been incomplete, had she not come in contact with Christianity. Neither churchianity nor the dogmatic narrowness of priest-ridden theology is needed in India: What she needs is a thorough acquaintance with the life and personality of Jesus. It were futile to exalt Jesus and run down Christna or Buddha—as Christian missionaries do. Jesus is the most illustrious star in the galaxy of those who transcend the bounds of race, country and creed—neither to the Jews nor to the Christians alone does He belong: He belongs to the whole of Humanity. The life-stories of Christna and Buddha are almost identical with the life-story of Christ. The sublimity of Christ's teaching is not unknown to His predecessors Christna (1400 B. C.)* nor Buddha (547 B. C.) But while fully realizing the worth of their Avatars and Teachers, the Hindus can ill afford to ignore the greatness of Jesus the Christ, the embodiment of the Highest and the fountain-source of inspiration. Stripped of theological trappings, the pure teachings of Christ would indeed bring the millennium, not only in India but all over the world.

During Christianity's career in India, or rather during the career of Christian theology, two great forces have been born in the land, superficially poles apart yet basically the same—namely, the Brahmo Samaj

**Paper on "The Causes of Famines in India" before the Canadian Institute.

*The date assigned to Christna varies from 3000 B. C. to 1400 B. C.—not to stretch it millenniums backward.—H. M.

and the Arya Samaj movements. Both resulted from the friction of Christianity with Hinduism. But the pendulum swung in opposite directions. Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of Brahmo Samaj recognized the divinity of Christ and adopted as much of the Christian systems as possible for the regeneration of Hinduism. Whereas Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of Arya Samaj, vehemently attacked the prevailing corruptions of Hinduism and started his Protestant Reformation movement by pointing to the people the way "back to the Vedas," back to the sublime ethics of the Aryan Religion of the Vedas.

"If one were asked to point to the Indian through whose courageous efforts a golden bridge was first erected uniting the progressive, practical traditions of the West with the sublime idealism of the East, I should point to Ram Mohan Roy. And if one were again asked to single out the great man, through whose personal endeavor and great self-sacrifice, abuses and corrupt practices that had gathered as accretions round the once pure and healthy body of Hindu doctrine received, if not a violent check at least, scathing condemnation, I should point to Ram Mohan Roy. And if one were asked whose was the bold and prophetic vision, that enabled him to see beyond India's political down-fall and the passing away of the sceptre from her, beyond the surrender of her independence and the humiliation of her lot, to the future vistas radiant with the dawn of hope, when through Western culture, and democratic discipline the Mother of Nations would again step out to take an honorable place in the comity of nations, I should point to Ram Mohan Roy. And finally: If one were asked to indicate the master-mind who saw that India's progress was to be conditioned not by contemplation alone, but by self-realization; not by isolation from the life of the West, but by healthy competition or cooperation with it, enlisting in the cause of national development forces that truly modernize life, wresting the mysteries of science, capturing the

treasures of Western knowledge, and applying these researches for the enrichment of India, I should again point to Raja Ram Mohan Roy." Thus Mr. D. N. Bannerjea, in his book, "India's Nation Builders."

Ram Mohan (1772-1833) flourished in the intial stages of the consolidation of British power in India. Heroic soul that he was, he did not feel any hatred for the alien upstarts in his Motherland—this speaks volumes for his nobility and for the nobility of the country that produced him. He was a synthesis of the best in the East and the West. During his studies at the Mohammedan school (1784-'87) he was greatly impressed by the teachings of the **Sufis** (Moslem mystics)* and broke away from the rigid orthodoxy of his parents. This brought down the wrath of his parents; and on his father's death, his mother made attempts to disinherit him. A seeker after truth, he wandered over the land and held discourse with various thinkers and religious leaders. In 1804 he settled in Murshidabad and brought out in Persian a book called, "Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin" or "A gift to those who believe in the unity of the Godhead." **Suttee** he attacked in season and out of season and quoting chapter and verse, convinced Lord Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India, that the custom was not sanctioned by the Vedas; indeed it was due to his energetic efforts that the self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands ceased. In the true sense of the word was Ram Mohan a self-made man. By dint of personal efforts he learned English and studied the Bible. As to the classical languages he studied Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew and Greek. In 1828 he started the Brahmo Samaj—the society of the purified, exalted souls. It proved to be a bearer of hope alike to the prince and the pariah. It marked the dawn of liberalism. The spiritual development and intellectual integrtiy began to move forward hand-in-hand. As an ambassador

*The Sufis have a great deal in common with the Vedantists. —H. M.

from the Mogul Court he went to London in 1830—the first Indian to set foot on the English soil. But he was an ambassador in a higher sense—a synthesis of East and West, he interpreted one to the other. The Christian ministers invited him to lecture on his conception of religion and Christ. He never returned to India and his remains were laid to rest in Bristol by his English friends and admirers.

He never called himself a Christian, even though he helped the missionaries in starting schools, securing pupils and in translating the Bible into Bengali: He was sorely grieved by the remark of Bishop Middleton who suggested that only if he became a Christian, he would have the prestige of the Imperial race behind him, and that "he would be respected in life and honored in death." After that Ram Mohan never spoke with him. The ethical value of Christ's teachings impressed him most and played a great part in his life. After the study of various religions he stated: "The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge." In the preface to "The Principles of Jesus: the Guide to Peace and Happiness," he says, "This simple code of religion and morality is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God * * * and is also well-fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

The appeal of the Brahmo Samaj is specially for the highly intellectual; the average man needed a simpler driving-force. Mul Shankar alias Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-'83)—the skeptic, the rebel, the reformer—supplied this deficiency. The Swami has done for Hinduism what Martin Luther did for Christianity. His message of social reform is inspiring to

every pioneer in the field. His virulent attacks on degenerate orthodoxy, his advocacy of the sublime ethical teachings of the Vedas, his zeal for the moral uplift and the spiritual betterment of his down-fallen fellow-brothers, his life of renunciation and the unswerving propagation of the Truth as he had seen it, despite pelting and stoning—these constitute an epic in themselves. He reminded the people of their glorious heritage and thereby quickened their suppressed longing for emancipation from the thraldom of the high priests of orthodoxy and imperialism, and revivified the pulsing life of the Indian youth. His personality today lives in the many educational institutions started by his followers throughout the land. When the rather questionable means of converting the low-caste Hindus to Christianity adopted by missionaries were undermining the peoples' faith in religion as such, Dayanand's trumpet voice announced the regeneration of Hinduism, thus bringing hope and spiritual comfort to not a few. "Under the aegis of the Arya Samaj women are being educated, and their seclusion is being steadily discouraged. Widows are allowed to remarry, should they choose to do so. The untouchables are being reclaimed, and on admission to the Samaj invested with the sacred thread that till recently was the monopoly of the Brahmins. Orphanages, schools, colleges, Gurukuls, numerous places for corporate worship, Maha Kanya Pathshalas (High Schools) for girls, these form the milestones in the Samaj's onward march to progress. Early marriages are under a ban."*

Ram Mohan and Dayanand Saraswati—how different the two are!—and yet how similar! Both were agreed as to the need of a protestant movement against orthodoxy; both were anxious to liberate India's soul from the trammels of caste and creed; both worked untiringly for the uplift of their Motherland; both emphasized that reformation was conditioned by education; both anticipated India's emerg-

*"India's Nation Builders," by D. N. Bannerjea.

ence from her bondage, political, social, economic; and prepared the way for her contribution to the uplift of humankind, beyond the bounds of nationality, country and creed. Their main attack was directed toward orthodox Hinduism but neither spoke disparagingly of other religions. There was, however, a fundamental difference. If some good points given prominence by Christianity were needed for India's regeneration, the Rajah would have no compunction in accepting those things as Christianity's contribution to India's uplift; whereas the Swami would dig into the pages of the Vedas and the Smritis and find out that the things which the Rajah considers as other religions' contributions to India are to be found in the Vedas—so, he would give prominence to them not because other religions did so, but because the Vedas said so. To the majority of Hindus the latter attitude will appeal more strongly than the former.

Christianity has come to grips with Hinduism and the result has been such reformation movements. The Vedic religion of the Hindus has survived many an attack both from the front and from the flank. Now the question is: Will it succumb to Christianity? My answer is: No. Hinduism, no doubt, in course of time will be greatly leavened by Christianity and Hindu thoughts and manners by English habits and customs, but Christianity as an organized institution of the West, will have not the ghost of a chance in India. Even after 300 years of missionary work, Christianity has not yet completely succeeded in touching the fringe of Indian civilization. The low-castes among whom are to be found most of the converts do not represent the best of Hinduism. And just think of the contradiction: with what face can the Christian missionaries preach to the peace-loving peoples of the Orient the message of non-resistance, peace and good-will, when they themselves and their fellow-Christians fail to live up to the teaching of Christ? Men like Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen, Ranade and Gokhale, Tagore and

Gandhi are a standing challenge to the organized Christianity of the West. The only organizations patterned after the West that are likely to appeal to the Hindus and make any headway in the country are the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Ethical Culture Society and the Community Church. My own connection with the Community Church, I may confess, is more for the community aspect of the movement than the church aspect. On the whole, it may well be said that Christianity has done a great deal toward fermenting the religious thought of India and is likely to play a great part in the New Rennaissance.

Thus, we see that four great cultural forces of the world have contributed toward the making of modern India: namely, Hinduism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Christianity—not to mention the small groups of Zoroastrian Parsees and Jews who have enriched India by their peculiar tho limited contributions. What has India, on her part, given to the world? This leads us to the consideration of:

V. INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO CIVILIZATION

A startling thought comes up to our mind. In Ceylon there is a remarkable tree, probably the oldest living thing in the world, planted there in 245 B. C. from a cutting of the Bo Tree under which the Buddha had received "enlightment" about 2500 years ago. The life of a single tree—how many generations it has spanned, how many kingdoms it has seen rise and fall, how many nations born and destroyed, how many historical episodes it has commemorated! Let us pause and reflect before passing judgment on any people by reading fragmentary accounts of a century or two. In a fit of absent-mindedness Lord Curzon, the arch-imperialist of England, declared that the history of India has left deep imprints on this terrestrial planet. On this one point we heartily agree with His Lordship.

The dawn of Aryan civilization broke for the first time on the horizon, not of Greece or Rome, not of Arabia or Persia, but of India, which may be called the motherland of metaphysics, philosophy, logic, astronomy, science, art, music and medicine, as well as of truly ethical religion. Although students in the schools and colleges of modern Europe and America are generally taught that the Greeks and Romans were the fathers of European civilization and that philosophy and science first arose in ancient Greece, still it has been proved by the Oriental scholars of Europe and by all impartial students of history that ancient Greece was greatly indebted to India for many of her best ideas in philosophy, science and intellectual culture, as also for many of her ethical and spiritual ideals.

If we read the writings and historical accounts left by Pliny, Strabo, Megasthenes, Herodotus, Porphyry and a host of other ancient authors of different countries, we shall see how highly the civilization of India was regarded by them. In fact, between the years 1500 and 500 B. C. the Hindus were so far advanced in religion, metaphysics, philosophy, science, art, music and medicine that no other nation could stand as their rival or compete with them in any of these branches of knowledge. On the contrary, many of the nations which came in contact with the Hindus through trade or otherwise, accepted Hindu ideas and moulded their own after the Hindu pattern. For instance, the science of geometry was first invented in India by the Hindus from the Vedic rules for the construction of sacrificial altars; from these rules they gradually developed geometry, and it has been admitted by the great scholars that the world owes its first lesson in this science not to Greece but to India. The Pythagorean theorem so-called was known in India at least two centuries before Pythagoras was

born—it is to be found in the Sulva Sutras (which form part of the Kalpa Vedanga), dating from the eighth century before Christ. There is a Greek tradition that Pythagoras visited India, and most probably he did, because in his writings we find such ideas as were very common among the Hindus but which were unknown to other nations. Probably he learned from the Hindus his first lessons in geometry, mathemetics, the doctrine of pre-existence and transmigration of souls, and of final beatitudes, ascetic observances, prohibition of eating flesh, vegetarianism, the conception of the virtue of numbers, and lastly, the idea of the fifth element, which was unknown in Greece and Egypt at that ancient time. The Egyptians and Greeks admitted four elements, but ether as an element was known only among the Hindus of those days. Professor E. W. Hopkins, in his **Religions of India,** says "Before the 6th century B. C. all the religious-philosophical ideas of Pythagoras are current in India."

Buddhism discouraged the Vedic sacrificial rites, and therefore geometry fell out of use but geometrical truths now began to be represented by algebra and arithmetic. The Greeks could not rival the Hindus in the science of numbers. The world indeed owes decimal notation to India. The Arabs first learned it from the Hindus and then introduced it into Europe. It was unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and arithmetic as a practical science would have been impossible without decimal notation. The Hindus have also given algebra (Vijaganita) to the Western world through the Arabs, who translated it in the eighth century A. D.; and Leonardo da Pisa first introduced it into Europe in the thirteenth century. So the world received its first lesson in algebra from India. The Hindus were also the first teachers of plane and spherical trigonometry. The great Indian mathematician Bhaskaracharya (1114-1150) wrote exhaustive treatises on all these subjects and his works contain

solutions of remarkable problems which were not achieved in Europe until the 17th and 18th centuries.*

In astronomical observations, the Hindus were the first to fix the lunar mansions, lunar Zodiac, and the divisions of the constellations. The Chinese and Arabs borrowed these from India.** They first developed the science of music from the chanting of the Vedic hymns. The Sama Veda was especially meant for music. And the scale with seven notes and three octaves was known in India centuries before the Greeks had it. Wagner's conversation with Schopenhauer throws a flood of light on his indebtedness to Hindu music—particularly in his idea of the "leading motive."

Many Oriental scholars maintain that the writings and teachings of many of the Greek thinkers and writers, such as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and others, were saturated with Hindu influence. The Hindu philosophers leading an ascetic life in Greece were called Gymnosophists. Says Sir William Jones, "It is impossible to read the Vedanta, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing that Pythagoras and Plato derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the Indian sages." The idea of the **Logos** which formed the cornerstone of the philosophy of Plato, of the Neo-

*"A striking history has been told of the problem: to find x so that ax^2+b shall be a square number. Fremat made some progress toward solving this ancient problem, and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century. Euler finally solved it, and arrived exactly at the point attained by Bhaskara in 1150. A particular solution of another problem given by Bhaskara is exactly the same as was discovered in Europe by Lord Brounker in 1657: and the general solution of the same problem given by Brahmagupta, in the seventh century A. D., was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and was only accomplished by De la Grange in 1767 A. D. The favorite process of the Hindus known as the **Kuttaka** was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac in 1624 A. D."—"Civilization in Ancient India," by Romesh Chunder Dutt, Vol. II.

**"The science of algebra indeed received a remarkable degree of developmnt in India: the application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations is a peculiar invention of the Hindus; and their manner of conducting it has received the admiration of modern European mathematicians."—"Civilization in Ancient India."

Platonists, of Philo, and later of the Fourth Gospel first arose in India, and various references to it are to be found in the Vedas.

As already observed, the Buddhist missionaries carried the message and sublime ethics of Buddha to Syria, Palestine and Alexandria before the advent of Jesus the Christ. These preachers influenced the Jewish sect known as the Essenes; and the Roman historian Pliny, who lived between 23 and 79 A. D. thus described the mode of living of the Essenes: that they lived like hermits, without having any possessions or any sexual relation, being celibates and associates of palm-trees. It can be shown that they belonged to the sect founded by the Buddhist monks from India who lived in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhauer, and Christian thinkers like Dean Mansel and Dr. Millman admit that the sect of Essenes arose through the influence of the Buddhist missionaries who came from India. Moreover, it is a well-known fact that John the Baptist was an Essene. Ernest Renan, in his **Life of Jesus,** speaking of John the Baptist, says: "He led there a life like that of a Yogi, clothed with skins or cloth of camel's hair, having for food only locusts and wild honey. * * * We might imagine ourselves transported to the banks of the Ganges, if special features had not revealed in this recluse the last descendant of the grand prophet of Israel." Again he says: "The teachers of the young were also a species of anchorites, resembling to some extent the **Gurus** (spiritual preceptors) of Brahminism. In fact, might there not in this be a remote influence of the **Munis** (sages) of India? Perhaps some of those wandering Buddhist monks who overran the world, as the first Franciscans did in later times, preaching by their actions and converting people who knew not their language, might have turned their steps to Judea, as they certainly did toward Syria and Babylon. * * * Babylon did become for some time a true focus of Buddhism. Budasp (Bodhisattva) was reputed a wise Chaldean,

and the founder of Sabeism. Sabeism was, as its etymology, indicates, **baptism.**"

Baptism which originated in India was introduced among the Jews by the Buddhist missionaries. The Essenes—particularly John—gave the baptismal rites a peculiar extension. Hence baptism became the principal ceremony at the time of the initiation of the disciple in the religion of John. The life of Jesus the Christ as described in the Synoptic Gospels—the immaculate conception of a virgin mother, the miraculous birth, the story of the slaughter of infants by Herod, Jesus' temptation by the prince of darkness, and the chief events of his life—all these seem like repetitions of what happened in the lives of Chrisna (1400 B. C.) and Buddha (547 B. C.). Many of the famous parables of Christ Jesus, such as the parable of the prodigal son and of the marriage feast, were known to the Hindus and Buddhists of the pre-Christian era. The Roman Catholics have taken a great many of their ideas from the Buddhists of India. In the religious history of the world, Buddha was the first to organize communities of monks and nuns and to establish monasteries and nunneries. Under cover of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, the story of Buddha has found a niche in the row of canonized Catholic saints and has his saint-day in the calender of the Greek and Roman Churches. **I and my Father are one; I am the way**—such-like savings of Jesus demonstrate his attainment to Christhood, the state of spiritual perfection, of spiritual realization or attainment of oneness with the Supreme Being; and they are also to be found in the sayings of Christna and Buddha.

Not merely in the realm of philosophy and religion did India excel; she made a positive contribution to other branches of knowledge as well. (Reference has already been made to India's contribution to geometry, algebra, arithmetic, trigonometry and astronomy.) A word about the other sciences. **Ayurveda,** the "science of life," contains the Hindu materia

medica, and is older than the sixth century B. C. It was taught long before the time of Hippocrates, the "father of medicine" so-called, who flourished about 400 B. C. Even in the early pre-Buddhistic age, Hindu medicine received scientific treatment and there were separate schools and colleges for medical students. During the Buddhistic period, medical science made considerable progress, and exhaustive scientific works were written on medicine. Among these, the works by Charaka and Sushruta were the best. Their writings became so widely known that translations of them were already familiar to the Arabs in the eighth century A. D., at the time of Haroun-al-Raschid; and they still remain the standard works among Hindu physicians. They contain exhaustive chapters on anatomy and physiology; on symptoms, diagnosis, and causes of various diseases, and on their proper treatment. Their words may be archaic, but they give a scientific treatment which was unknown in any other part of the world at that time. Dr. Royle, of King's College, London, in his celebrated essay on **Hindu Medicine,** goes so far as to say: "We owe our first system of medicine to the Hindus." He further declares, "Though the ancient Greeks and Romans used metallic substances as external applications, it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally. But in the works of Charaka and Sushruta, to which * * * the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally." History tells us that Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal; and in the eighth century A. D. the Mohammedan Badshaw, Haroun-al-Raschid, retained in his court two Hindu physicians. Indeed as early as 260 B. C. the Buddhist emperor Asoka established many public hospitals, not only for men, women and children, but also for animals.

Chemistry (in Sanskrit, Rasayana) was also familiar to the Hindus from very early times. "Nor is this surprising, as the materials for preparing many chemical products have abounded in India. Rock-salt was found in Western India; borax was obtained from Tibet; saltpetre and sulphate of soda were easily made; alum was made in Cutch; and sal ammonia was familiar to the Hindus; with lime, charcoal and sulphur they were acquainted from time immemorial. The alkalies and acids were early known to the Hindus, and were borrowed from them by the Arabians. The medicinal use of metals was also largely known. We have notices of antimony and of arsenic, of medicine prepared with quicksilver, arsenic and nine other metals. The Hindus were acquainted with the oxides of copper, iron, tin, zinc and lead; with the sulphurets of iron, copper, antimony, mercury and arsenic; with the sulphates of copper, zinc and iron; with the diacetate of copper and the carbonates of lead and iron."* (The great Asoka Pillar—now at Delhi—made of iron, stands today as fresh as it was when erected more than 2000 years back and has baffled the attempts of modern metallographers to explain its resistance to the ravages of time: a standing monument to India's skill and ability.)

During the Buddhist age, and before the Mohammedan invasion, Hindu culture in every branch of science and philosophy made tremendous progress. Arya Bhatta, the noted Hindu astronomer, who lived about 476 A. D. and who is called the Newton of India, wrote many works on algebra and astronomy. It was he who first discovered the sphericity of our planet and the rotation of the earth on its own axis. What immortalized Copernicus was taught by Arya Bhatta a thousand years before the Polish astronomer was born. Arya Bhatta also discovered the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses, and it was he who, for the first time, grasped the idea of gravitation toward the

*Quoted from "Civilization in Ancient India," by Romesh C. Dutt.

centre (called in Sanscrit **Madhyakarshan,** i. e., attraction toward the centre), and correctly calculated the distance of the earth's circumference. His successor, Varahamihira, another noted astronomer (500-587 A. D.), left valuable works, especially his **Brihat Sanhita,** which covered almost every department of natural history and was encyclopedic in its nature. Brahma Gupta, who lived about 628, described in his astronomical system the relative positions of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, and wrote a treatise on spherics. Ruins of Hindu observatories are still to be seen in Benares and other cities.

In the sixth century A. D., this golden age of science and letters reached its climax in the reign of the great Hindu emperor Vikramāditya, who was the great patron of learning and education. To the learned and the unlearned, to poets and story-tellers, to dramatists and novelists, to astronomers, lexicographers and historians, to the old and the young, the name of Vikramāditya is as familiar as the name of any great patron of science, drama, poetry and education of modern Europe. He had nine gems in his court, and the finest among them was Kālidasa, the great Hindu dramatist, called the Shakespeare of India. His best-known drama, "Sakuntalā," has been translated into more than one European language, and has been considered by such great scholars as Schegel, Humboldt and Goethe as one of the dramatic master-pieces of the world. Goethe speaks of it thus:

"Wouldst thou the life's young blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
"And all by which the soul is pleased, enraptured, feasted, fed—
"Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one sweet name combine?
"I name thee, O Sakuntalā, and all at once is said."

Besides Sakuntalā, the other well-known master-pieces of Kālidasa are Vikramorvashiyam and Megh-

Duta—the "Cloud Messenger." "Like Wordsworth," says a critic, "he (Kālidasa) looked upon Nature with the eye of a lover, and his knowledge of the physical laws is superior to that of any other Hindu poet." Among Kalidasa's contemporaries and successors were Bhāravi, Dandin, Banabhatta, Subandhu, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhuti, and many other poets.

It was at this time that the fables of Panchatantra and Hitopadesha,* which gave foundation to Aesop's fables and to the fables of Piplay, came into existence. Both these books containing stories of animals, with their wonderful morals, have influenced the young minds of Europe and America for many centuries. The Panchatantra "was translated into Persian in the reign of Nausharwan (531-572 A. D.) * * * The Persian translation was rendered into Arabic, and the Arabic translation was rendered into Greek by Symeon Seth about 1080. * * * A Spanish translation of the Arabic was published about 1251. The first German translations were published in the fifteenth century."**†

One of the most difficult problems in Sanskrit literature is the fixing of dates. As already observed, it is only after Buddha that historical dates may be mentioned with some precision. The pre-Buddhistic period stretches, according to some scholars, to countless millenniums back which in the words of Louis Jacolliot, is "staggering to the Western mind." According to others, the oldest Rig-Vedic texts date back 6,000 years B. C., and according to others again, 4,000 years before Christ. But that the Hindus had in that remote antiquity not only the rudiments of civilization but a highly organized structure of society, is not denied by anyone. It were futile even for voluminous writers

*"The Book of Good Counsels," translated by Sir Edwin Arnold.

**"Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. II.

†The paragraphs beginning with "The dawn of Aryan civilization, etc., page 43, up to this one have been bodily taken from the two chapters (1) **The Influence of India on Western Civilization** and (2) **Education in India** of "India and Her People," by Swami Abhedananda, with slight modifications, rearrangements, etc.—H. T. M.

to write a history of the world and do but scant justice to the contribution of a race that is destined to play its part once again in the upbuilding of a new world.

The discovery of Sanskrit and of Vedic literature in the 18th century has helped toward the solution of many an ancient riddle. Panini, who according to Max Müller was the greatest grammarian that the world has ever seen, laid the foundation of the study of comparative philology—at least as early as 700 B. C., which date is assigned him by V. A. Smith, who is by no means sympathetic to India. The science of anthropology may with profit investigate in the living laboratory of Hindusthan.

Since the 18th Century, during the period of England's close contact with her, India has produced a few rare intellects—not commensurate with her potentiality, one must admit. When the history of world culture is written, the name of Professor Ramanujam of Madras (died 1921) will figure prominently in the department of mathematics. He has made an important contribution to the theory of numbers and the Mss. he left behind him are being worked over by Professor G. H. Hardy of England. Meghnath Saha is another illustrious name widely known to the scientific world. His special field of work is astro-physics and his theories on atoms are being widely discussed by the leading scientists of the world. In physical-chemistry, J. C. Ghose's work on solution has been recognized by men of the calibre of Professor Arrhenius. These men and others less conspicuous are connected with Pallit's Research Institute of Calcutta, which is being directed by Professor Raman and Sir P. C. Ray. Sir J. C. Bose's work in plant-physiology marks a distinct advance in that science and his Research Institute, which is "open to all the world," promises genuine contributions in the future as well. The Nobel Prize recipient of 1913, Rabindra Nath Tagore, has already made a name for himself in the world of letters and his University at Bolpur (near Calcutta), called Shanti-Niketana—the Abode of Peace—is in truth the meeting-

point of the cultures of the East and the West. No man of our times is more certain of immortality than Mahatma Gandhi. With Gandhi as her contribution to humanity, India need not blush in comparison with any of the modern nations of the world.

Having fairly glimpsed at India's contribution in the realm of ideas—scientific pursuits, philosophical disquisitions, religious thought—we may now envisage her life in matters social, political, economic, artistic.

VI. INDIAN SOCIETY

The records of ancient India embodied in the marvelous Sanskrit literature, go to show that there existed, if not an actual Golden Age, at least a state of society not far short of a golden age. The external evidences also uncover this fact. The British historian, Thornton, by no means partial to India, describes Ancient India in the following glowing terms: "Ere yet the Pyramids looked down upon the Valley of the Nile—when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of a wilderness—India was the seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of its industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of Nature annually rewarded the toil of husbandmen; skillful artisans converted the rude produce of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty; and architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the evolution of thousands of years. * * * The ancient state of India must have been one of extraordinary magnificence." Nor is this mere rhetoric. It is an historical fact that the part of India included in the Empire of Darius (6th Century B. C.), Afghanistan and the Northwestern Punjab, was the "richest" province of all his dominions. The Greek observers of the pre-Christian era testify to the great size and architectural beauty of many of the cities of Northern India. Rhys Davis in his "Buddhist India" says that as far back as the middle of the

seventh century B. C. the villagers had "sufficiency for their needs." "There was security; there was independence—there were no landlords and no paupers." The same authority goes on to say that the mass of people "held it a degradation to which only dire misfortune would drive them, to work for hire." Add to these facts that "there was little, if any, crime," and you have a complete picture of the Golden Age of India.

But British historians, by and large, would have us believe that the Indians were poor, backward, uncivilized and degraded when the civilizing force of Britain collided with the shores of India. This misstatement is, to say the least, mischievous and arrogant. In his book, "Empire in Asia," Mr. Torrens, M. P., says: "There never was an error more groundless than that which represented the ancient systems of Indian rule as decrepit or degrading despotisms, untempered by public opinion. It accords too well with the arrogance of national self-love and seems too easily to lull the conscience of aggression to pretend that those whom it has wronged were superstitious slaves, and that they must have so remained but for the disinterested violence of foreign civilization introduced by it, sword in hand. This pretentious theory is confuted by the admissions of men whose knowledge cannot be disputed and whose authority cannot be denied."

B. G. Tilak (1856-1920), in his celebrated book written in prison, entitled "Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas," makes some startling propositions. Mr. Tilak's researches, carried out in a scientific spirit, have commanded the respect of European and American scholars. On astronomical grounds, he argues temperately that "the **Aditi**, or pre-Orion period, the earliest in the Aryan civilization, may be placed roughly between 6000 and 4000 B. C., that the Orion period, from about 4000 to 2500 B. C., was the most important in the history of Aryan civilization, the separation of the Parsees having taken place between 3000 and 2500 B. C.; that the **Taittiriya Samhita**

and several of the **Brahmanas** (portions of the Vedas), should be assigned to the third period, from 2500 to 1400 B. C., during which the hymns had already become antiquated and unintelligible; that the fourth and last period of the old Sanskrit literature extended from 1400 to 500 B. C. and saw the composition of the **Sutras** and the evolution of the philosophical literature."

To confine ourselves to historical records only, we shall omit the discussion of the pre-Mauryan period, extending from the earliest times to 322 B. C. The Maurya period lasted from 322 to 185 B. C. and produced two of the greatest monarchs of the world in Chandragupta and his grandson, Emperor Asoka (who ruled from 273 to 232 B. C.). During this period, Indian civilization and prosperity attained their topmost mark. Alexander the Great did not even touch "the fringe of Indian civilization." Then came the Kushan ascendancy in the North and Andhra ascendancy in the South, extending roughly from the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D. During this period, "the whole of the southern peninsula under the Andhra dynasty was in direct communication with Rome, while the conquests in Northern India tended still further to open up trade with the Roman Empire, so that Roman gold poured into all parts of India in payment for her silks, spices, gems and dye-stuffs."* Thus we find the Roman historian, Pliny (about 77 A. D.), complaining that there was "no year in which India did not drain the Roman Empire of a hundred million sesterces (£1,000,000, i. e., $5,000,000) * * * so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women." In his "Early History of India," the late Mr. Vincent Smith says, "Ancient Tamil literature and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandal or Chola coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both West and East. The Chola fleets did not

*"A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity," by Professor Radhakumud Mookerji.

confine themselves to coasting voyages, but boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal to the mouths of the Ganges and the Irrawaddy and the Indian Ocean to the islands of the Malay Archipelago."

Then we pass on to the period of expansion of Northern India under the Guptas and Harshavardhana, extending from the 4th to the 7th century A. D. The Hindus colonized the Eastern parts of Bengal, the Kalinga coast and Coromandel—even parts of Burma and Malacca were colonized. Houen Tsang, the most famous of the many Chinese travellers that visited India at this time, has left valuable records of his impressions of the highly civilized state of the land. In the middle of the 7th century, the center of activity shifted to the South under the Chalukyas and the Cholas. The maritime intercourse of India with the East and the West was uninterrupted. The fame of Pulakesi II (608-42) spread far and wide, and the King of Persia exchanged embassies with him. The Chola dynasty remained ascendant in the south till the Mohammedan conquest of Northern India in the beginning of the 11th century.

Thus, in the pre-Mohammedan period, India was rich, enormously rich. Pliny's complaint notwithstanding, Roman gold steadily poured into India from the beginning of the Christian era, if not from earlier times. India had also commercial relations with Persia and the people lived happy, contented, adventurous lives. "The old prosperity of India," said Major J. B. Keith (Asiatic Quarterly Review, July, 1910), "was based on the sound principle, which is, that after clothing and feeding your own people, then of your surplus abundance give to the stranger."

Under the Mauryas (4th Century B. C.) elaborate regulations were framed by the municipal commissions to prevent discomfort to foreign visitors, travelers and businessmen. "All foreigners were closely watched by officials, who provided suitable lodgings, escorts and in case of need, medical attendance." As Mr. Smith goes on to remark, "the existence of these

elaborate regulations is **conclusive proof** that the Maurya Empire in the 3rd century B. C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business." Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador at the Mauryan court, has left valuable accounts of India's conditions, political and social, prevailing 4 centuries before the Christian era:—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To those they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistance. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or, in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and, if they die, bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with a view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognizance of government. The fourth class superintends trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity, unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold."

The military officers, Megasthenes goes on to say, "also consist of six divisions, with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet; another with the superintendent of the bullock-trains, which are used for transporting engines of war, food for soldiers, pro-

vender for the cattle, and other military requisites. The third division has charge of the foot-soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants."

In addition to the municipal and military officers, there was a third class whose duty it was to superintend agriculture, irrigation, forests, and the general work of administration in rural districts. "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that everyone may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances."

Megasthenes' observations on the humaneness of war times are very illuminating. "For, whereas, among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in the neighborhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger. * * * Besides, they (the warriors) never ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees. They never use the conquered as slaves."* This high state of civilization was possible only because the Hindus carefully observed the laws of war sanctioned by their **Shastras** (scriptures). The Law-giver Apastamba, says: "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who beg for mercy with flying hair or joined hands and

*All quotations from Megasthenes are from MacCrindle's Translation, quoted by Abhedananda.—H. T. M.

of fugitives." Bodhayana lays it down: "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane or out of their mind, nor with those who have lost their armor, nor with women, infants, aged men and Brahmins." And Vashishta says: "The wives of slain soldiers were always provided for."

For a full thousand years, from the time of Megasthenes, 3rd Century B. C. to that of Houen Tsang, 7th Century A. C., we meet with a host of pilgrims to India, who testify that: "The people were happy, prosperous, enjoying peace and justice. Agriculture flourished, the fine arts were cultivated." In his diary —(translated by Samuel Beal), Houen Tsang, gives the following description of the administration of India:

"As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the executive is simple. * * * The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts: the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrifical offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of the state: the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way, the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river passages and the road barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labor is exacted, but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

"The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are

promised certain payments, and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land assigned to them for their personal support."

Thus it is a matter of historical record that by the beginning of the 11th century, India was enormously rich. Her wealth had been an object of much talk and envy among the nations of the world. Mohammed of Ghazni raided India as many as seventeen times (1000-1025 A. C.) and carried away immense wealth. But "the wealth that Mohammed carried away from India was insignificant, compared to what remained there. His raids were confined chiefly to the north-western provinces; only for two brief periods did he penetrate into the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, and only once in Gujrat, Kathiawar. The whole of Central India, which had for so long remained the center of great political activities under the **Nandas,** the **Mauryas** and the **Guptas**; the whole of Eastern India, covering the rich and fertile tracts which comprise the modern provinces of Bengal and and Assam; the whole of the South had remained untouched."* And people looked "with admiration on the extent and magnificance of the capital of the Kingdom of Canauj, and of the inexhaustible riches of the Temple of Somnath."

The first Mohammedan dynasty began its rule at Delhi in 1206 and from that time on, whatever they acquired, the Mohammedan rulers spent within the bounds of India—which means, that the immense wealth of the Indian continent was not then being drained away. Only twice was India raided with any degree of success between 1206 and the Battle of Plassey (1757) when the British began to acquire rights of sovereignty in India: in 1398 Tamerlane sacked Delhi and carried off "very great" booty; and in 1739 Nadir Shah raided Delhi and went back to Persia, "laden with treasure of incalculable richness,

*"England's debt to India," by Lajpat Rai.

including the world-famed peacock throne of Shah Jehan."

How enormously rich India must be as a whole if Delhi alone yielded such incalculable wealth? The fertile Gangetic plains, Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Deccan, Gujrat which had lain beyond the Mohammedan invaders' grasp fell miserable victims to the British power which penetrated from within.

Now we shall present an array of unimpeachable evidences. Mount Stuart Elphinstone says: "The general state of the country must no doubt have been flourishing. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled about 1420 A. D. speaks highly of what he saw in Gujrat, and found the banks of the Ganges covered with towns amidst beautiful gardens and orchards, and passed four famous cities before he reached Maarazia, which he describes as a powerful city filled with gold, silver and precious stones. His accounts are corroborated by those of Barbora and Bartema, who travelled in the early part of the 16th century." Marco Polo (1292 A. C.) has described the high state of maritime activity going on in India. Nor do we get a discouraging picture of India under Mohammedan or Hindu ruler until the end of the 18th century. In his "View of Interests of India," Colonel Fullerton asserts: "Although most constantly engaged in war, the improvement of his country and the strictest administration formed his (Hyder Ali's) constant care. Manufacturer and merchant prospered * * * cultivation increased, new manufactures were established, wealth flowed into the kingdom * * * the slightest defalcation by the officers of the revenue was summarily punished. He bequeathed to his son, Tipu Sultan, an overflowing treasury, a powerful empire, an army of 300,000 men * * * and great territories." Moore's estimate of Tipu's administration (1782-99) is equally glowing. "When a person travelling through a strange country, finds it well cultivated, populous with industrious habitants, cities newly founded, commerce extending, towns increas-

ing, and everything flourishing so as to indicate happiness, he naturally concludes the form of Government congenial to the people. This is a picture of Tipu's government. * * * We have reason to suppose his subjects to be happy as those of any other sovereign. * * * No murmurings or complaints were heard against him, though the enemies of Tipu were in power, and would have been satisfied by any aspersion of his character."

With reference to Bengal, the brightest jewel in the Imperial Crown of the Moguls, Holwell says: "Here the property, as well as the liberty, of the people are inviolate. The traveller, with or without merchandise, becomes the immediate care of the Government which allots him guards, without any expense, to conduct him from stage to stage. * * * If * * * a bag of money or valuable is lost in this district, the person who finds it hangs it on a tree and gives notice to the nearest guard. . . ."*

"The rich province of Dacca was cultivated in every part, * * * justice was administered impartially * * * Jeswant Roy * * * had been educated in purity, integrity and indefatigable attention to business, and studied to render the government of his province conducive to the general ease and happiness of his people—he abolished all monopolies and the imposts upon grain." (Stewart—Reform Pamphlet No. 9, pp. 22.)

But the battle of Plassey (1757) laid the foundation of a new order of society—Bengal came under British dominance and when in 1765 the **Dewanee,** i. e., the right of "the superintendency of all the lands and the collection of all the revenues" of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was granted to the English by the nominal Mogul Emperor of Delhi, the change was completely effected. "A country of inexhaustible riches," in the words of Robert Clive, is

*India Reform Pamphlet (No. 9, p. 21), published, 1853, by the India Reform Society of London, supported by Members of Parliament.

what the British found. The future management of the provinces was carefully thought out by Clive, who said in his letter to the directors of the East India Company: "Your revenues, by means of this acquisition, will, as near as I can judge, not fall far short, for the ensuing year, of 250 lacs of Sicca Rupees, including your former possession of Burdwan, etc. Hereafter, they will at least amount to twenty or thirty lacs more. Your civil and military expenses in time of peace can never exceed sixty lacs of Rupees; the Nabob's allowances are already reduced to forty-two lacs, and the tribute to the King (Mogul Emperor) at twenty-six; so that there will be remaining a clear gain to the Company of 122 lacs of Sicca Rupees, or £1,650,900."*

From the very beginning, an annual remittance of over $8,000,000 to be made from a subject country to the shareholders of the East India Company in England!—that surely was a "civilizing" force! Let Macaulay tell the story in his own words: "What indeed was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptations such as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed company. * * * The servants of the company obtained for themselves a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and fiscal authorities * * * every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of the Company. * * * Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to an extremity of wretchedness. * * * Under their old masters, * * * when evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be shaken off. That Government,

*House of Commons Third Report, 1773. Appendix, pp. 391-98.

oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilization."*

In the decade 1710-1720, the actual export of gold bullion by the East India Company averaged £4,344,-000. And we have it on the authority of J. Bruce (in his "Plans for British India") that the last export of bullion from England to India took place in 1757. "From that period on, the export of bullion to China very considerably decreased and it was only sent occasionally after the supply from India failed. This circumstance was explained in every letter sent by the directors to their servants at Madras and Bengal, which contained instructions to them to collect as much bullion as they could, to be ready for ships which would come out from Madras and China, and by the answers to the letters specifying the quantity sent by the different vessels." Consequently, the country was depleted of the enormous treasures stored away by the people. Says Brooks Adams, **"These hoards, the savings of millions of human beings for centuries, the English seized and took to London,** as the Romans had taken the spoils of Greece and Pontus to Italy. **What the value of the treasure was, no man can estimate, but it must have been many millions of pounds—a vast sum in proportion to the stock of the precious metals then owned by Europeans."****

No wonder a systematic, organized plunder of a century and a half should reduce the Indian of today to the position of a "hewer of wood and drawer of water." No wonder: "The mass of the population is poor, very poor. A state of destitution, accompanied by disease and death is the normal condition of the bulk of people." After making a carefuul survey of the economic conditions in rural India, Mr.

*"Essay on Clive," by Lord Macaulay.

**"The Law of Civilizatoin and Decay"—Brooks Adams. The reader may with advantage refer to "Prosperous British India," by Sir William Digby.

Keating, an eminent English economist, describes the life of the Indian farm-laborer in the following terms: "It is a picture of literal starvation mentally, and all but so physically; it can represent the life of no unit of civilized humanity." How can it, when the "civilizing" force of the Briton is operating! "The Indian population grows, her earning power per head ($10.00 annually) is stationary, such increase in her industries as has taken place is nothing compared to the growth of her population. The inference is irresistible; life in India continues on the lowest plane, untouched by all the movements and progress that is in the air." Well may Sir D. E. Wacha, a Moderate Indian leader exclaim: "If Indian poverty is to be reasonably reduced, if the standard of living of the teeming masses is to be satisfactorily raised, if education and sanitation are to be greatly accelerated, the first and fundamental assumption is a well-devised scheme of fiscal autonomy. Unless the people are allowed full freedom to work out their own economic destiny, it is hopeless to foresee a prosperous India."

"A well-devised scheme of autonomy"—yes, the Pancheyets must be revived and the ancient system of village republics must be instituted with modifications to suit modern conditions. Representative institutions are not unknown to the Indians. The most remarkable feature of the political organization of ancient India was the village community with its municipal institution called the Panchayet—the Council of the Five. Each village was an independent republic by itself, bound to the Central Government by the regular payment of an assessment or tax on the produce. Sir M. Monier Williams describes the Indian Panchayet as being "the original type, the first germ of all the divisions of rural and civic society in medieval and modern Europe." The self-contained democratic village communities prospered and lived undisturbed even when the Central Government changed hands—until the consolidation of British power in the land. The destruction of the Panchayet

brought into existence the oppressive money-lender and landlord, with whose help the British power is maintained in India.

It is a matter of historical record, though not generally known, that India's greatness and riches were the result of her maritime supremacy from time immemorial. According to Professor Bühler, "there are passages in ancient Indian works, which prove the early existence of a navigation of the Indian Ocean and the somewhat later occurrence of trading voyages undertaken by Hindu merchants to the shores of the Persian Gulf and its rivers." Alexander's passage of the Indus was effected by means of boats supplied by native craftsmen. For the purposes of the famous voyage of Nearchus down the rivers of the Punjab and to the Persian Gulf, a fleet of 2,000 vessels (according to Ptolemy), was made use of, accommodating 8,000 troops, several thousand horses and vast quantities of supply. This was in Chandragupta's time, i. e., 325 B. C. Under Asoka, the fleet increased and navigation flourished. The Kushans, the Andhras, the Guptas and the Cholas—all these Hindu dynasties up to the time of the Mohammedan conquest kept intact the shipping industry, in fact encouraged it and thereby contributed to the prosperity of the country. In the 6th century B. C., the Hindus colonized Ceylon; as early as 75 A. C., they also attempted to colonize Java, but pestilence thwarted the attempt. Finally, in 603 A. C., the crown prince of Gujrat successfully reached Java with 5,000 followers and transplanted Indian culture and civilization in the island. Nicoli di Conti's testimony in the earlier part of the 15th century shows the national shipping industry in full swing: "The natives of India build some ships larger than ours, capable of containing 2,000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts. * * * But some ships are so built in compartments that should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage." Evidently the art of ship-building must

have been known to the Hindus for centuries. The Mogul Emperors also fostered the shipping industry and even the British East India Company in its early career helped build the Bengal Marine, thus carrying forward the work of generations past. In 1811, Lieutenant-Colonel A. Walker wrote: "Many ships Bombay-built after running fourteen or fifteen years have been brought into the (British) Navy and were considered as strong as ever. The **Sir Edward Hughes** performed, I believe, eight voyages as an Indiaman before she was purchased for the Navy. No Europe-built Indiaman is capable of going more than six voyages with safety."* The Indian Navy was utilized in the First and Second Burmese Wars and in the First of the two Chinese (or Opium) Wars. But since 1840 the British government began to discourage the ship-building industry and in 1863, shortly after the direct assumption of power by the British Crown, the Indian shipping was entirely abolished.

Thereby, the premier industry of India was destroyed, millions were thrown out of employment and the people have had to pay large sums of money to British shipping companies. The disappearance of Indian shipping furnishes an illustration of how other age-old industries of India, such as indigo and vegetable dye-stuffs, rich fabrics and textiles, were also destroyed by the British.

Now we shall have a hurried glance at the monuments of:—

VII. INDIAN ART

Whereas, Europe can boast of but one ancient art gallery in the Hellenic Parthenon, Asia may well be proud of having two art galleries: (1) The Ajanta

*"**In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping. The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship.**"—**"Les Hindous,"** by F. Baltazar Solvyns, quoted by Professor Mookerji.

Caves in India, and (2) the Borobudur Temple in Java constructed by Hindu sculptors. The vital impulse to be has an irrestible tendency to transfer and transcribe itself on some other manifestation of being, some other material—such as earth, rock, wood, marble or paper. The more exalted the life of a people, the more exuberant their art. From the earliest time, the people of India gave a full and free expression to their artistic emotion. But "nearly all Indian sculpture previous to the Buddhist epoch was in wood or other impermanent materials."† The Vedic Period laid the foundations, and thereby provided the background of Buddhist Art.

(1) "Indian Art was conceived when that wonderful intuition flashed upon the Indian mind that the soul of man is eternal and one with the Supreme Soul, the Lord and cause of all things. * * * The creative force generated from those great philosophical conceptions has not ceased to stimulate the whole art of Asia from that time to the present day." (2) "Art thus became less the pursuit of beauty than an attempt to realize the life which is without and beyond by the life which is within us—life in all its fullness and mystery, which is, and was, and is to come." These, in the words of Mr. E. B. Havell,* constitute the "leading motif" of Indian Art.**

The British Museum in London carries elaborate bas-reliefs from the Buddhist stupa at Amaravati, southern India, constructed about the 2nd Century A. C. Fergusson thinks that they represent "the culmination of the art of sculpture in India;" no doubt they hold a high place in the esteem of critics, both foreign and native. They offer, says Mr. Havell, "delightful studies of animal life, combined with extremely beautiful conventionalized ornament." And

†The non-discovery of the existence of any art-monument in pre-Buddhist period does not prove its barrenness in artistic expression.—H. T. M.

*Mr. Havell's book, "Indian Sculpture and Painting" is very remarkable.—H. T. M.

**"The Dance of Siva," by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswami, is also very illuminating.—H. T. M.

though he regards some of the work as "skilled craftsmanship rather than fine art," Vincent Smith thinks that the sculpture as a whole "must have formed, when perfect, one of the most splendid exhibitions of artistic skill known in the history of the world." And critics agree that "the most varied and difficult movements of the human figure are drawn and modelled with great freedom and skill."

The reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi in the plains of Northern India have commanded the admiration of all critics. Vincent Smith, in his "Oxford History of India," says: "The relief structures at Bharhut and Sanchi, some of which are little, if at all later than the time of Asoka (i. e., 3rd century B. C.) and may be regarded as pictures executed in stone, exhibit most vividly all the details of the life of the age. It was a bustling, cheerful life, full of wholesome activity and movement. The artists delighted in representing it with frank realism, and in decorating their panels with ornaments of charming design treated with good taste."

The charge sometimes made that Hindu art was indebted to Hellenic influence is disproved by the following assertion of Mr. Havell: "The great culture-centers of Asia at this time (i. e., 3rd century B. C., to 3rd century A. C.) were the Indian universities of Takshasila (Taxila), Benares, Sridhanya Kataka, on the banks of the Krishna, and Nalanda: their influence was supreme, and compared with it the whole influence of Hellenism in Indian art may be taken as a negligible factor."*

"'What Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages,' says Fergusson, 'Nalanda was to Central India—the depository of all true learning and the foundation from which it spread to all other lands of the faithful.' The whole range of education in these great universities was schemed and coordi-

*Hellenic ideas of art influenced only one school with some success, namely the Gandhara school in the northwestern parts of India. Even so, it was a drop in the ocean.—H. T. M.

nated with a breadth and largeness undreamt of in modern India. There were schools of painting, sculpture, and handicrafts as well as of mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and other sciences; at Nalanda religion and philosophy were taught from a hundred chairs. Not less greatly planned were the equipment and environment of the colleges. Houen Tsang (650 A. C.) who resided at Nalanda for several years, says it was 'an enchanting abode.' It had been in existence for seven centuries when he visited it. * * *"

Mr. Havell continues: "The groves of mango-trees and the immense tanks still remain as memorials of this splendid convent. There were thousands of these convents, though this was the finest of them all. To them flocked students from all parts of Asia, and from them went out missionaries who brought Indian religion, philosophy, science, and art to the most distant parts of the continent—China, Korea and Japan.

"Among such surroundings and by such influences were nurtured and developed the culture and ideals which created the great monuments of Indian art."

The Ellora and Elephanta caves have commanded universal admiration. Ellora contains, says the Cyclopedia Americana, "remarkable cave temples excavated in the solid rock, which in magnitude and perfection surpass all other constructions of the kind in India." It contains three series of temples, twelve Buddhist, five Jain and seventeen Brahmanical. The construction of Ellora temples is placed between the fifth and ninth centuries after Christ. The Elephanta contains the Hindu Trinity: Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver and Siva the Destroyer (rather, Transformer-by-Destruction).

The finds of Tut-Ankh-Amen's tomb in Egypt are creating a stir abroad. But nobody in the outside world knew anything of the remarkable finds of art and furniture, excavated at Taxila a few odd years ago. Taxila was probably a great seat of learning at the time of Buddha (500 B. C.) and we have records

of its existence as a university until the 7th Century A. C. When the remains have been all dug out and pieced together, we shall have the living history of a thousand years' activities in actual records.

The pyramidal **stupa** at Borobudur in Java is called "The Parthenon of Asia"—and well may it be so described. The Hindus who migrated to Java in the beginning of the 7th century devoted their energies to peaceful activities and artistic pursuits. Here in Java, away from the burning sun of India, Buddhist art found its highest expression. Mr. Havell describes it thus: "The whole of the great building, from the basement to the seventh story, was adorned with a series of wonderful sculptures and bas-reliefs, extending in aggregate for a length of nearly three miles, and expounding in ordered sequence the history, mythology and philosophy of the Buddhist faith. For the devout Buddhist pilgrim who paced these sculptured galleries, they were illustrated scriptures, which even the most ignorant could read, telling in living words the life-story and message of the Master." Both inside and outside, the temple is "profusely ornamented with bas-reliefs, representing battles, sea-fights,* processions and chariot races, carried to an extent unrivaled by any other building in the world." The Americana further says that it is "the most elaborate monument of Buddhist style existing anywhere." The Borobudur temple, pervaded by gracious humanity, is the supreme triumph and glory of Indian art. The construction lasted about 400 years from the 7th to the 10th century, inclusive.

Ajanta is the national art gallery of India and unfolds many forgotten chapters of Indian history. Under the peace-loving Asoka, no more war materials had to be manufactured, so the artists and artisans betook themselves to the wild ravines and the basaltic rocks of Ajanta—there to fly away from the distract-

*The Philadelphia Museum has a most interesting exhibit of the model of one of the Hindu-Javanese ships, an "outrigger," copied from the Borobudur Temple.—H. T. M.

ing cares of the world and to give themselves up to contemplation. Here at Ajanta for a thousand years from the 2nd century B. C. to the 8th century A. C., the Buddhist pilgrims devoted themselves to the construction of a monument, unparalleled in the annals of the world. The cave-temples are the embodiment of a steady application of labor, skill, perseverance and endurance. These "painted palaces" represent a unique boldness of conception. "It is needless to dwell upon the high merits of the paintings in the Ajanta caves, which are now freely recognized," says Vincent Smith. The worth of the achievement will be further evident from the fact that "much of the work has been carried on with the help of artificial light and no great stretch of imagination is necessary to picture all that this involves in the Indian climate and in situations where thorough ventilation is impossible."† Mr. Griffiths also gives the following glowing testimony: "During my long and careful study of the caves, I have not been able to detect a single instance where a mistake has been made by cutting away too much stone; for if once a slip of this kind occurred, it could only have been repaired by the insertion of a piece which would have been a blemish." Vincent Smith refers to a Danish artist, who has published a valuable professional criticism, and who declares that "they represent the climax to which genuine Indian art has attained;" and that "everything in these pictures from the composition as a whole to the smallest pearl or flower testifies to depth of insight coupled with the greatest technical skill."

The caves constructed between 525 and 650 A. C. illustrate very vividly the vitality and individuality of Indian civilization of the period; they commemorate the maritime supremacy and expansion of India, as also the spread of Indian thought and culture over the greater part of the Asiatic continent. The famous

†"The paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta."—J. Griffiths.

voyage of Vijaya, the Crown Prince of Gujrat, undertaken with a view to colonizing Ceylon in the 6th century B. C. has been recorded in the national art gallery. Nor was the picturesque scene of the reception of the Persian embassy in the court of Pulakesi II (625 A. C.) omitted from the Ajanta gallery, which represents, among other things, scenes from Buddha's life, storm-tossed ships and other events significant of the times. The construction of the "painted palaces" of Ajanta, the high watermark of Buddhist art, as already observed, lasted up to the 8th century A. C. Meanwhile, Jain and Brahmanical art forms also were perfecting their technic and genius in other parts of India, and it is possible that these three schools of Indian art, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain, would have struck out new paths and made a novel contribution to the art of the world, if they had not received a rude shock—almost fatal—from the impact of Islam, in the beginning of the 11th Century. The reason for this abrupt overshadowing of Hindu art and culture by alien forces such as Islam and Christianity is not far to seek; in contrast to Mohammedanism and Christianity which are aggressively proselytizing, the native religions of India are non-proselytizing and tolerant of other faiths. When the aggressive forces have run out their careers—as they are sure to—the tolerant, non-aggressive forces of Indian civilization will resume their thread once again and carry forward the work of past generations.

The first shock of the impact over, the aggressive Mohammedan joined hands with the tolerant Hindu and a happy blending of the two forces produced the graceful art-forms embodied in hundreds of mosques and mausoleums, towers and turrets, palaces and parks, created by the Mohammedan and Mogul rulers of India. There is no monument in the world, possessed of the gracefulness of the Taj Mahal. The simplicity of design is peculiar to the Taj, in fact, to all Mohammedan art forms, in contrast to the

exuberant ornamentation which is the peculiar genius of Hindu art.

Everything Indian that is good and beautiful Mr. William Archer sees in a distorted fashion through his English monocle—even so, the dramatic critic has at least good ears to hear. This is what he says of Indian music: "There is an undeniable and penetrating charm about Indian music. The fine artists whom I have been so fortunate as to hear, can produce delightful effects from their very picturesque stringed instruments—**sitar, sarangi and vina.** I was especially struck with the way in which they could make the strings almost literally speak, coaxing from them plaintive utterances which, with one's eyes shut, one could almost believe to proceed from the human voice. The pieces I heard appeared to me to be composed of fragments of melody akin to the folk-songs of Europe, but developed on wholly different rhythmic principles. I have not the least doubt that Indian music is a most interesting, highly-subtilized and elaborated science. . . . ."* The Indian musicians claim that their music has "the power of painting landscapes which can be quite definitely visualized by the initiated."

With his peculiar philosophical background, the Hindu artist prefers sculpture to painting: this explains the monumental art-works of ancient India. Under the Moguls, both Hindu and Mohammedan artists expressed themselves in painting as well as sculpture. The Mohammedan artists by giving a high place to painting enriched the fine arts of India. And the contact with Europeans gave a further impetus to painting. The interplay of these various forces produced Ravi Varma, the pioneer Indian artist of the last generation. And today the Bengal School of art under the leadership of Abindra Nath Tagore

*"India and the Empire" (p. 254), by William Archer, to whom I am indebted for the vivid description of India in the two opening paragraphs of the book—of course, I took care to rid the passages of their 'squalidity.' —H. T. M.

is attempting to resuscitate the ancient art of India and also to express art emotions in the form of modern painting.

The descendants of those who created the mighty edifices of Ajanta, Borobudur and Taj Mahal are even today capable of rearing lasting, graceful forms of art, but under British rule, the greatest of Indian artists have to content themselves with a miserable pittance of 10 to 20 dollars per month, and have to work under the supervision of third, fourth and tenth rate English artists. How can the art of India then be rejuvinated? Certainly not by letting things drift haphazard. What is needed is a conscious attempt at throwing off the shackles of alien tutelage. When the belly is starving, when flesh is weak and blood is cold, when aggression and domination conspire to make people helpless and diffident, when the pervasive "air of inferiority" dwarfs the mind and body of the people, no creations of art can be expected. Indeed, to save their soul—their very existence—the Indian people must make an energetic attempt at self-assertion. This new self-assertion is possible to them—as to other peoples—only by the consciousness of **nationhood.** And this leads us to the consideration of the most vital problem of modern India, namely:

VIII. INDIA—A NATION

The rule, or rather the misrule of India for a hundred years by the British trading corporation sowed the seeds of Indian nationality. The lively interest taken by England in the military careers and grasping policies of her representatives in India produced in the minds of the Indian people a sense of uneasiness. People all over the country were confronted by a common danger, namely, tyranny by irresponsible autocracy and absorption by an alien civilization. This common danger welded together the peoples of the far-flung provinces of India. In the second place, British rule brought about poverty and hunger in the land—famines increased and became more severe

—hence people's discontent. No indigenous industry survived the onslaught of **Pax Britannica**—indeed, India became helpless industrially. And the industries fostered by the British government for financial gains began in one way or another to sap the vital energies of the people. The first Governor-General of India, Warren Hastings, "put the management of the manufacture and sale of both opium and salt on a sound financial basis."† This was an exceedingly wise step from the Imperial viewpoint—peoples' thirst for salt in the tropical climate of India is unquenched, but their dish of opium is being sumptuously prepared by the British government ever since the year of grace 1773. In the third place, to quote the late Mr. Gokhale, "A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the system may be satisfied." No Indian, however competent, could be admitted into the inner circle of the Government—nay, not even in the lucrative posts of routine work. Hundreds of instances can be cited to show that in the work of administration tenth-rate Englishmen have been preferred to first-class Indians. In the fourth place, everything was done to bring home to the people that they were **subjects,** and that the rule was **imposed** upon them. In the fifth place, the British well-wishers of India had imagined that the fostering of English education would create a contempt in the Indian's mind for his native manners, and for his Sanskrit and Arabic literature. But the denationalizing education only intensified his reverence for the past and created a deep longing for freedom.

India was in a ferment, but the crisis of 1857 was precipitated by the high-handed policy of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56).* A "Rebellion"—"Sepoy Mutiny"

†"Oxford History of India."—V. A. Smith, p. 516.

*This means that Lord Dalhousie was Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856.—H. T. M.

—these are the words used to describe the most critical event of modern Indian history. Had the princes and people of India succeeded in regaining their freedom, the event would have been known to history as the War of Indian Liberation. Life to the victor, death to the vanquished—such was the attitude; needless to say both sides, the British soldiers and the Indian princes, indulged in untold excesses and cruelties. A halt was called to this crusade for Indian liberty by the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria (Nov. 1, 1858), whereby the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the British Crown and the Indian people were promised justice. "And it is our further will," reads the Proclamation, "that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." This remains a pious hope—even in the year 1923! But in the infancy of their political life, the Indian people naively believed that what was written on paper and proclaimed as a pledge would be necesily carried out in practice. The disillusionment gave a strong impetus to the national awakening.

"The writings of Ram Mohan Roy, Debendra Nath Tagore, Rajendra Lal Mitra, in Bengal; those of Ranade, Vishnu Pundit and others in Maharashtra (Bombay), of Swami Dayanand and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Upper India, of Madam Blavatsky and the other Theosophists in Madras, brought about a new awakening, which afterwards received an even stronger impetus from the writings and speeches of Mrs. Annie Besant and Swami Vivekananda. This was on the religious and social side mainly, but its national character was unmistakable."* The new life was further reinforced by "the Brahmo Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Society for the Resuscitation of Sanskrit Literature, the Bengal Sahitya Parishad, the Maharastra Sabha, the Arya Samaj, the

*"Young India," by Lajpat Rai, p. 115.

Sanatana Sabhas and other societies of a similar nature." Particularly effective were the voices of Swami Dayananda and Vivekananda, who preached the gospel of national self-purification and social uplift. Their massage brought forth new hopes—hopes of a united, free India.

But the aspirations of educated Indians were thwarted at every step. They would be debarred from high government posts for the simple reason that they were Indians. They then went to England for the Indian Civil Service examination—curiously enough, the Indian Civil Servants are neither Indian nor Civil nor Servants: they are British Autocrats with potential Military powers. The large number of Indians passing the I. C. S. examinations alarmed the British government, so they made stringent regulations to keep out the Indians. The I. C. S. candidates were thenceforth required to be between 19 and 21 years of age and thereby most Indians could not compete. This raised a howl and cry all over the country, especially in Bengal. A Tory of pronounced imperialist tendencies, Lord Lytton (1876-80) did great service to the cause of Indian awakening by his repressive, highhanded policy. He gagged the press by his notorious Vernacular Press Act. He made arrangements for the remission of cotton duties in the interests of Lancashire and Manchester. He blundered into a bloody Afghan war and by an unworthy trick degraded the Indian princes—former allies of the British Crown—to the position of feudatories.

In the beginning of his Viceroyalty, the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria had created high hopes but Lytton's subsequent acts made the security of British power and the prevalence of peace very doubtful. The mischief had to be undone—and fortunately, both for India and England, the peace-maker was found in Lord Ripon (1880-84). He repealed the Vernacular Press Act and thereby became popular among Indians and unpopular among Britishers and Anglo-Indians. Peo-

ple's admiration for him grew all the more when he formulated the policy of local self-government and thus laid the foundations of representative institutions in India along Western lines. The most conspicuous event of his Viceroyalty was the official introduction of the Ilbert Bill, which proposed so to alter the criminal law as to place the European and the Indian on a footing of equality in the matter of trials. This Bill elicited bitter diatribes from the Anglo-Indians and high praises from the Indians. Even though a compromise was effected in the original Bill, yet the constructive, statesmanlike policy of Lord Ripon created the stir of new life: in the first place, people began to clamor—as yet in a disorganized fashion—for further Reform legislation; and, in the second place, they were convinced of the efficacy and utility of constitutional agitation in an organized manner. On his resignation in December, 1884, "Hundreds of addresses were presented to him, and his journey from Simla to Bombay resembled a triumphal procession. It is hardly necessary to add," says Mr. Smith, "that the attitude of his countrymen was different."

Hard upon the heels of Lord Ripon came Lord Dufferin, an astute student of foreign affairs and a keen observer. There was no love lost between the Indian and the European community as yet. "The fire was still smouldering when Lord Dufferin took charge of the office of Viceroyalty. He had been brought up in diplomacy. To him diplomacy was like mother's milk. He was a diplomat by birth, as well as by training. His mission was to appease the anger of the governing class and in a quiet way to undo what Lord Ripon had done. But he thought that perhaps it might be dangerous to go at it straight. The cry of political liberty and political equality had been raised. It was impossible to satisfy it; yet it might be dangerous to strangle it by force. It was impossible to revive the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. It was impossible to stifle political life which

had sprung up in the atmosphere created by Lord Ripon's policy, and which was making a rather precocious growth. The more it was opposed, ridiculed and despised, the more it thrived. So he decided to guide it and to make it as innocuous as it could be without rousing the suspicions of those who were to be the tools."*

To the British mind, India of the eighties represented a congeries of nations. Writing in 1882, Sir John Seeley said, "There is then no Indian nationality, although there are some germs out of which we can conceive an Indian Nationality developing. * * * If the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly—if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion—from that day almost, our empire would cease to exist. * * * For it is a condition of our Indian Empire that it should be held without any great effort. * * * The moment India began to show herself what we idly imagine her to be—a conquered nation—that moment we should recognize perforce the impossibility of retaining her." This is sound philosophy, Sir John, and the very time you were enunciating your principles (1882), the Indian Nationality was being born. Indeed the ferment was so strong, that Lord Dufferin thought it advisable (in 1884) to stem the tide of **nation-wide** discontent by the creation of a "safety-valve" organization —an organization which should enable the discontented to air out their views, and release the suppressed energies, which might otherwise do incalculable harm to the British Raj.

Mr. A. O. Hume, a retired Civil Servant, deeply cherishing the British tradition of freedom and liberty, keenly alive to the needs of India that had fallen upon evil days, was anxious to start a movement for Social Reforms when Lord Dufferin suggested to him the idea of starting a political organization which

*"Young India."—Lajpat Rai, p. 121.

should serve as a barometer to register the intellectual atmosphere of India. Mr. Hume was a lover of both England and India—according to the scheme, he argued, the British Empire could be saved and India could obtain political liberty under the aegis of the British Crown. Indeed, as early as March, 1883, in his manifesto to the graduates of the Calcutta University, Mr. Hume addresed lofty sentiments to the rising generation of the then intellectual centre of India: "Whether in the individual or the nation, all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favored sons, that your country must look for the initiative. In vain may aliens like myself love India and her children * * * but they lack the essential of nationality and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves. * * * Scattered individuals, however capable and well-meaning, are powerless singly. What is needed is union, organization, and a well-defined line of action; and to secure these an association is required, armed and organized with unusual care, having for its object to promote the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India. * * *"

The truth is that Mr. Hume merely gave expression to an opinion which was widely cherished, namely, that "those who would be free, **themselves** must strike the blow." People were fully convinced of the truth that "every nation secures as good a government as it deserves," and this realization made them sad indeed. They were anxious to act but act they could not, they dared not—the crushing defeat of 1857-58 had demoralized their spiritual forces. So Mr. Hume's leadership came as a God-send. As Mr. G. K. Gokhale nobly testified: "No Indian could have started the Indian National Congress, and if the founder of the Congress had not been a great Englishman and a distinguished ex-official, such was the official distrust of political agitation in those days

that the authorities would have at once found some way or other to suppress the movement."

Mr. Hume's correspondence with the leaders of India resulted in the first sessions of the Indian National Congress in the Christmas week of 1885, in Bombay, the premier city of India. Among the first sponsors and leaders of the National Congress were Mr. W. C. Bonnerjea, Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. Budrrudin Tyabji, Pundit Ajudhia Nath, Justice Telang, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Pheroze Shah Mehta, B. G. Tilak and G. K. Gokhale. Among the British promoters of the National cause were Mr. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Alfred Webb M. P., Sir Henry Cotton M. P. and Mr. O'Donnell M. P. The first sessions of the Congress exhibited marvelous freshness and enthusiasm—indeed, signs of a new awakening were not wanting—but there were also present, timidity and hesitancy. They talked more of generosity than of justice; more of concessions than of rights. In its initial stages, the Congress was in the good graces of the Government. In fact, the very first convention was indirectly blessed by government patronage. In 1886, the members of the second congress were invited by Lord Dufferin to a garden party at Government House, Calcutta, as "distinguished visitors." In 1887, the Governor of Madras paid them a similar compliment in Madras, where the third session of the Congress was held. But in 1888 things changed a great deal—the Congress fell into the displeasure of the government, because people were exhorted to be participants "in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble band, will wage for justice, for our liberties and our rights." The Government took the Congress to task; Mr. Hume began to explain in an apologetic manner and the political education of the masses by effective propaganda was temporarily checked. The Congress gave serious attention to the subject of Representative Institutions from the very beginning and in 1889 when the eloquent Mr. Bradlaugh M. P. espoused the Indian cause,

the subject took a practical turn. As a result the British Parliament passed in 1892 the Indian Councils Act, which made some improvement upon the Act of 1861. Without any considerable setback, in fact with steady progress, the Congress continued its career during the regimes of Marquess of Lansdowne (1888-'94) and Earl of Elgin II (1894-'98) but with the accession of the British Pro-Consul Lord Curzon of Kedleston as Viceroy of India in January, 1899, the Indian Nation found itself at the threshold of a new century, a new age and a new spirit.

Until the beginning of the Twentieth Century among the topics that engaged the deliberations of the Congress were: permanent settlement, military expenditure, simultaneous examinations for the I. C. S. both in India and England, Public Service, South African Grievances, Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions, Abolition of the Secretary of State's Council in London, (for whose maintenance until a year or two ago India had to pay), Repeal of the Arms Act (which denied to the Indians the right of bearing and using arms) and the Removal of the Disability to Indians for volunteering in the Army. Until the dawn of the new age, people were reiterating and passing resolutions year after year, asking for boons from the benign British government and were inclined to "mendicancy and petitioning." The new age, however, brought new tactics. Meritorious indeed are the services of Lord Curzon to the national cause—it was he who whipped the people of India into a recognition of their helplessness, and goaded them to action.

The Indian Nationality was slowly and steadily emerging. And the internal fermentation was helped by external circumstances. The reverses sustained by Britain in the British-Boer War (1899-1902) shook the faith of the Indians in the omnipotency of British power. The more thoughtful among the Indian leaders began to doubt the sincerity of England's professions of benevolence and liberty, when she plunged

herself into an imperialistic war. Plague and famine did their worst, so the slightest oversight by Government came in for a sharp criticism from the Congress leaders. When the country was in such sullen mood, the British Pro-Consul took the reins of government in his hands. Curzon's ridicule of the Congress movement added fuel to the fire. Mr. Chamberlain's policy of economic imperialism was strongly criticized by the Congress. In 1904, the notorious Indian Universities Act was passed by Lord Curzon's Government, and His Lordship also proposed the partition of Bengal. Bengal was the stronghold of nationalism and the partition would, argued Curzon, destroy the growing menace to the British Raj in India. But the Partition had entirely an unintended effect: people's indignation occasioned a tremendous wave of New Nationalism, the like of which was not seen before and would not have been seen for many a year but for the signal folly of an over-confident autocrat. "A settled fact," said Lord Morley; and yet before a decade passed, the "settled fact" was no more—the partitioned Bengal was remade whole in 1911, according to the demands of the people.

"The partition was undone"; but before it was rectified, the official blunder had been directly responsible for the inauguration of new aggressive tactics by the Nationalists, whose faith in the strength of the Orient was reinforced by the victory of Japan over Russia—the traditional bogey menace to India—and by the achievement of constitutional government by the people of China. Those, indeed, were stirring times, fraught with grave consequences. This critical period in India's history gave Mr. Tilak his opportunity to come in the forefront of the National Congress. Until 1904, Mr. Tilak had kept himself in the background, but in the Congress of 1905, he was asked to move the important Resolution on Poverty; a prolonged, deafening ovation, such as was never before witnessed, greeted this scholar-statesman, originator of the slogan: **"Swaraj Is My Birth-Right."** Bande

Mataram: "Hail Motherland"—the National Song of India—was resounding from one corner of the country to the other; and Tilak was proposed as the President for the 1906 session of Congress to be held at Calcutta. But it was a little too premature—the country was not yet ripe for drastic actions advocated by Tilak, the Father of New Nationalism, and his co-workers Lajpat Rai in the Punjab and Bepin Chandra Pal in Bengal. So, a happy compromise was effected whereby the veteran Congress leader, respected by government and people of all shades of opinion, Dadabhai Naoroji, of Moderate views, accepted the Presidency. But Naoroji blessed the efforts of the New Party and championed from his Presidential chair, the cause of Swaraj, self-rule. A signal triumph for the Nationalists! The Calcutta Congress of 1906 advocated boycott of British goods, of British courts, of British government; and the encouragement of Swadeshi (Home industries). Indeed their program included: (1) the promoting of education; (2) the raising of national volunteers; (3) the development of Indian industries; (4) the establishment of a political organization intended to take up as much as possible of the work that had been left to the government.

The School of Moderate thought was driven out and the Nationalists—or Extremists, as they were sometimes called—were at the helm of affairs. But the Moderates with government backing tried to capture the Congress and go back on the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress. This resulted in the split of the Surat Congress in 1907 between the Nationalists led by Tilak and the Moderates led by Gokhale and Mehta. And the government lost no time in taking stern measures to suppress the Nationalist Party. Disorder was the only order of the day, and violence and lawlessness stalked abroad in the land. By the end of 1908, the leaders of the New Party were, one and all, arrested and imprisoned or deported. The voice of the mute multitude was thus stifled, but the indignant masses called upon the educated people at

large to carry forward the struggle for liberty; and it is quite likely that even the Moderates would have eventually obeyed these behests, if Lord Morley had not set out to "rally the Moderates" by the promulgation of the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.

The reforms of 1909, contend the Nationalists, were granted purely because the strength of their ranks had become a menace to British Raj, and the Government contends that the installment of reforms was planned independently. Be that as it may, the Morley-Minto reforms did mark a great advance upon the theory and machinery of Indian constitution. The demand for partnership in the innermost councils of the state was granted, an Indian gentleman having been for the first time appointed to the Governor-General's Executive Council. So also have Indians been appointed to the Provincial Executive Council and to the **India Council** of the Secretary of State for India. The Reforms enlarged and extended the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, but a great mischief was done by the conceding of the principle of sectional and class representation. Even the liberal Morley could not go beyond giving a large representation to Chambers of Commerce and kindred bodies. The Mohammedans and the Moderates were particularly favored by the Reforms.

Inadequate as the Indian Councils Act of 1909 was, it paved the way for the enunciation of a liberal policy for the governance of India consistent with the retention of British power in the land, which may be stated thus: that the various provinces of India be made **self-governing, autonomous** bodies something like the states of the United States of America, subject to interference from the Indian Government and that the Government of India be made **autonomous,** subject to interference from the British Parliament in matters of vital Imperial concern. This principle has been thoroughly recognized and carried out by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. It has been attempted to make Parliament's authority over India

supreme and to give Indians opportunities for self-government. The constitutional reforms of 1919 are based on the "pronouncement" of August 20, 1917: "The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire."

The Reforms aim at broadening the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, with powers and responsibility to the elected members; development of local self-government; the gradual Indianization of administration and the broadening of franchise. But the astute authors of the Reforms made a show of giving with one hand and managed to take it away with the other. For instance, the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, or the Upper House have each a majority of elected members over government nominees but their resolutions can be ignored by the Governor-General-in-Council. Similarly, the Provincial Legislative Council has a majority of elected members, but the legislation passed by the Council has to undergo the scathing criticism of the Provincial Executive Council of the Governor. And the resolutions of the Legislative Council are in the nature of recomendations only. In other words, the legislatures, Indian as well as Provincial, serve as grand debating societies, with no power to enforce their will. And the topics of debate are also very carefully restricted by the Government of India Act of 1919.

Naturally the Nationalists found the reform-scheme "unsatisfactory and disappointing." The Moderates led by Sir Surendra Nath Bannerjea, Sir D. E. Wacha and Chintamani are cooperating with the government in making a success of the new Indian constitution boycotted by the Swaraj Party. The splendid manner in which the Moderates are conducting themselves

in parliamentary institutions has evoked great praise and admiration from English observers. The proceedings of the first two sessions of the "Indian Parliament" (?) give a direct lie to the charge that Indians are not capable of conducting Parliamentary institutions. If sham Parliaments participated in by not very superior brains, be conducted with signal success —as the Indian government reports indicate—how much more brilliantly would the best intellects of India, now ranged on the non-cooperation side, run real Parliaments!

To resume the thread of the narrative of nationalist activities from 1909. In 1910, Lord Minto's government muzzled the Indian Press by the passage of the Press Act: thereby discontent was driven underground, and the votaries of violence found ample opportunities of organizing revolutionary societies wherever the field was ripe. Minto's life was attempted at Ahmedabad, the political secretary of Lord Morley was shot in London, and attempts were being made to terrorize the government into submission when Lord Minto was replaced by Lord Hardinge as Viceroy. The excitement about the coronation of King-Emperor at Delhi in December, 1911, checked the revolutionary activities. But in December, 1912, Lord Hardinge's life was attempted—unsuccessfully. The extreme nationalists took to bomb-throwing because they could not make themselves heard in any other way, the Congress having been captured by the Moderates.

In 1914, Mr. Tilak was released from prison and at once he set about recapturing the Congress for his party. Mr. Tilak's energetic activities, coupled with the demoralization of the Moderate forces by the death of their veteran leaders, Gokhale and Mehta, in 1915, at once secured the Nationalist ascendancy. The Home Rule Leagues started by Tilak and Mrs. Annie Besant brought the message of Home Rule to every home and hearth. The political heresies of 1906 became the commonplaces of 1916. The 19 non-

official members of the Viceregal Legislative Council drew up a memorandum setting forth demands approximating to Home Rule as the immediate need of India. The Lucknow session of the Congress of 1916 is notable for the reuniting of the Nationalists and the Moderates who had split into two camps at Surat in 1907. It is still more notable for the fraternization of the Hindus and the Mohammedans.

From the very first, instigated by Government, the Mohammedans had kept aloof from the Congress. Even though it was thus predominantly Hindu in character, the Congress refused to call itself a Hindu Congress but insisted on its Indian and National character. One of the legacies of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty was the establishing of a Muslim League—to counteract, so to say, the Hindu Congress. Indeed the Mohammedans did play themselves into the hands of the Government, and when in 1909 Lord Morley by special concessions rallied the Mohammedans to the Government side, it was felt that the two great communities of India would never unite. But the slow subjugation of most Islamic Powers by the Christian nations, the stress of the European War and the internal conditions of India convinced the leaders of the Muslim League of the advisability of co-operating with the Congress. Thus in December, 1916, at Lucknow was jointly adopted a scheme of reforms, known as the Congress-League Scheme, which was a halfway house to complete Home Rule.

The effect of the European whirlpool was felt in India as elsewhere. The Allied cause was presented to the Indians as a war of right against might, of justice against injustice, of freedom against tyranny, of democracy against autocracy. India's contribution to the Allied cause both in men and money was magnificent—British statesmen recognized the fact; naturally, the aspirations of the people rose higher and higher. Arabindo Ghose, from his refuge in French Pondicherry, began to preach with redoubled vigor

his gospel of a Renascent India. Soon after America's entrance into the war, Sir Subramania Aiyer—he has since renounced his title—President of the Madras Home Rule League, sent a letter to President Woodrow Wilson, pledging India's whole-hearted support to the Allied cause both in men and money, if she were promised Home Rule at the end of the war. But the war that was to end war culminated in a peace that ended peace.

In 1918, Mr. Tilak was elected President of the Delhi Congress, but he was in England at the time in connection with his libel suit against Sir Valentine Chirol. He devoted his activities to educating the English people regarding India's aspirations and demands. The Indian National Congress reiterated its demands for Home Rule. Following his pronouncement of August 20, 1917, Mr. Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, visited India and in consultation with Lord Chelmsford's Government drew up the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. Dissatisfied as they were, the Nationalists would have perhaps given a chance to the new Reforms and participated in the Reformed Councils, had not an unduly long period intervened between the publication of the report and its passage by Parliament.

Before the Reformed Councils had a chance to come into existence, India passed through a most critical period. The report of Justice Rowlatt's Committee was a studied insult to the sincere nationalist leaders and his prescription of two drastic pieces of legislation added fuel to the fire of popular discontent. The passage of the proposed Bills by the official majority of the Viceregal Legislative Council in the teeth of Indian non-official opposition within the council and without, gave Mr. Gandhi his chance to come forward and try his panacea of Passive Resistance to cure the ills, social and political as well as individual. Indeed "the remarkable figure of Mr. Gandhi"—to quote an official Red Book—had been already attracting the

attention both of the people and the Government of India ever since 1915. Thanks to his unique activities of two decades (1894-1914) in South Africa, his name had been sufficiently familiar to the leaders of thought in India and England. The weapon of **Soul Force**—of **Love Force**—he had so effectively used in South Africa, he was always dreaming of using in India on a grand scale. And his opportunity came in 1919. The magic of his personality has been well portrayed by the Red Book:

"It has often been remarked that every Indian, no matter how Westernized, will ever retain in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated Indian gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. Furthermore, the insistence of Mr. Gandhi upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of **Dharna**, that is, the application of moral pressure to another through physical austerities deliberately endured by oneself. Hence it is that to Indians of all classes, Mr. Gandhi, of lowly birth though he be, who stands forth, not only as the perfect ascetic but also as the perfect exponent of Hindu tradition, makes an appeal of well-nigh irresistible force. Even those who are most profoundly convinced that his political opinions are unsound, unpractical and even disastrous, can rarely be found openly to criticise, far less to oppose, him." Indeed, from the beginning of 1919 to the middle of 1922, Gandhi's activities represent an epitome of the nation's life. Continues the Red Book, "During the whole of the year 1920, the tendency has been to place a premium upon Mr. Gandhi's opinions. India is now suffering from reaction against the more materialistic manifestations of Western civilization. In

addition to this, the events of the Punjab disturbances of 1919, which only became fully known during the period under review (i. e. 1920), gave rise amongst educated Indians to feelings of intense and bitter humiliation. Against the all-dominant tide of Western materialism, Western might and Western achievement, Mr. Gandhi, with his explicit scorn for that which we call modern civilization, stands before the injured national pride of many of his countrymen like a rock of salvation. He embodies an other-worldliness essentially Indian, a spirit the West does not possess, a plane of detachment to which it cannot hope to aspire. Hence it is that his behests have the influence of semi-divine commands; and even those whose intellects are too keen to be dominated by his sway can rarely be found to resist the appeal which he makes to their innermost heart."

On the First of August, 1920, the Non-Cooperation Program was launched by Gandhi with the object of redressing the Khilafat grievance, the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj. On that same day the "Uncrowned Prince of India"—Bal Gangadhar Tilak —passed away. Henceforth, Gandhi's leadership became universal and the Special Session of the Congress in the next month accepted non-cooperation in principle "by a conclusive, if narrow majority." The campaign was outlined and Gandhi and his lieutenants toured the country with remarkable success.

The Nagpur session of Congress (December, 1920) was "notable for the personal ascendancy of Mr. Gandhi." In the beginning of the year 1921, Gandhi approached the Congress "almost in the character of a suppliant," but before the year was over, the Mahatma emerged as "the acknowledged dictator, not only of the non-cooperation movement, but also of the remodelled Congress organization which lent that movement its most formidable strength."

The study of current Indian conditions arouses in the writer of the official documents a desire to write an epitaph on the non-cooperation movement, which

he hopes will soon be fulfilled. It arouses in me another desire: namely, to write an epitaph on the British Empire. The vogue, among British statesmen, of the term "British Commonwealth of Nations" in contradistinction to the term "British Empire" is suggestive. However, the time has not yet come to write an epitaph on either. But the keen yearning for freedom created by the Gandhi movement has to be reckoned with. Spiritual forces of incalculable strength, conducive to the moral uplift of the community—not only Indian, but International—generated by the non-cooperation movement and today permeating the national life of India are bound to secure her a place in the forefront of the nations and thus help realize her pristine glory.

In its career of 35 years, the Congress took the biggest stride at Nagpur in the year 1920 when the change in its creed proposed by Gandhi was accepted by a majority of people's representatives. The former aim of the Congress was the **"attainment of self-government within the British Empire"** by all "constitutional" methods. According to Gandhi's amendment the Congress creed is the **"attainment of Swaraj"** by all "legitimate, peaceful" methods. Now it is the privilege of the Congress to decide whether or not British connection with India shall remain. In 1921 at Ahmedabad, the Congress pointed to non-violence as the only rock of salvation. In the hope of breaking down the morale of the people, the Government arested and imprisoned Gandhi in March, 1922. But the peaceful atmosphere preserved by Indians of all shades of opinion on the Mahatma's imprisonment betokens not a mean success of Gandhi's principles and movement. The Congress of 1922 met at Gaya and passed an important resolution, disavowing the nation's responsibility for any debts incurred by the so-called Representative Government of India. The study of the Indian National Congress is an intensely interesting subject, and the steady, statesmanlike progress it has been making speaks highly of the people's

ability. What is more, a new phase of activities has entered into the field. The All-India Trades Union Congress has been organizing and educating the laboring masses of India. The workers and peasants are being made to realize their class interests and to organize accordingly. There is a commotion and a stir abroad in the land. "The stir which now manifests itself," as the official document has it somewhere, "is the stir of new life."*

In sketching this panorama of Indian history my purpose has been, not to advocate but to record. The **right or wrong, my country first** attitude deserves to be thrown into the scrap heap of history. We are sufficiently advanced to tread the path of reason, instead of chauvinism. To me the destruction of the race of chauvinistic nationalists is as much a consummation to be devoutly wished for as the destruction of the international caste of imperialists, militarists and capitalists. And I may assure my American and European readers that Indian nationalism is in a category different from Western nationalism that has deluged the world with blood. India's struggle for freedom is a struggle for world freedom, for the world indeed cannot be free so long as **one-fifth of the human race**—330 millions of India—are denied freedom. What is more, with her unique spiritual background, a free India will be eminently fitted to preach the gospel of **universal brotherhood, peace on earth, good-will among men.** God willing she shall carry forward the great purpose.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR.

21 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.

April 15, 1923,

P. S.—With the exception of the Panorama of Indian History, the entire book was written about a year ago. That the passage of a year has not necessitated any change in my treatment of the subject is a matter of great satisfaction to me. H. T. M.

*The official Red Books or documents referred to are: "India in 1920," "Indian Politics in 1921-22" and "Indian Parliament," all published by the Government of India.—H. T. M.

GANDHI THE APOSTLE

PART II

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

"He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword."

When the rest of the world is discussing the possibility and doubting the wisdom of Jesus' principles, India is actually putting them into practice. Love thy neighbor as thyself; Do unto others as thou wouldst have others do unto thee; Return Good for Evil: these are no mere literary intellectual phrases—they are today the living faith and guiding principle of India. Not merely in individual life, but also in the national life—in the domain of politics where what is said is often not meant—do we find these sublime principles practiced. As a result, India affords a grand departure from the way nations are usually consolidated and freed. The English Revolution, culminating in the beheading of a king, asserted the Rights of the People against autocracy. The American Revolution marked the triumph of Democracy over Imperialism. The French Revolution was, as Mazzini said, "The translation of Protestantism into politics," being the vindication of **Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.** The Russian Revolution of 1917 promises a full realization of the dignity of manhood. To cap it all, comes the Indian Revolution of today, which in its application of Philosophy and Religion to politics, is transporting politics into the domain of the spiritual, thus realizing the Divinity of Man.

Politics in India have been raised on a higher plane; public life in the country has been "spiritualized." But the ordinary requirements of the game of Revolution obtain here as elsewhere: namely, sacrifice of human life, devastation of land, destruction of property. The argument of the Hindu* is thus: the outstanding difference between man and animal consists in the former's capacity to inflict injury on **himself** as well as on others, a gift mostly denied to the lower creation; and if sacrifice and destruction are inevitable factors in the attainment of national freedom, **all the losses shall be their own.** Suffering being essential to the building of a nation, they court imprisonment and arrest, voluntarily giving up their liberty and their lives. The high priests of Imperialism demand war and bloodshed; the Hindus cheerfully bring to the altar of their **NATION** their sacrifice of (1) titles of honor, (2) luxuries, (3) property, (4) British-made goods. These voluntary sacrifices have eliminated hatred and contempt which are the motive forces behind war. There is no hate in the heart of the Hindu for the Englishman. The Prince as a "fine" individual, as a "democrat," has found a place in his heart, but the Prince as a British institution has been heartily boycotted by him. "We may criticize systems and institutions," says Gandhi, "but imperfect ourselves, we may not—we ought not to—criticize persons or their motives." In such an attitude of tolerance, good will and religious zeal for the evolving of a better order of society, is the revolution in India going on. The pent-up energies of the people, suppressed and exploited for a hundred and sixty years, nay more—for during the Mohammedan rule, too, the people were oppressed—these energies have been directed into the channel of Non-Violent Non-Cooperation by India's great leader, Mahatma Gandhi.

*The words Hindu and Indian are used interchangeably quite often in the book as is the vogue in America.—H. T. M.

The last two generations were intoxicated with the wine of Western civilization; they were enchanted by the comparative luxuries and comforts introduced by England. A few were infatuated with Mill and Spencer. The intelligentsia, "a microscopic minority," were aroused. The existing political injustices afforded them a good cause for which to fight. Poverty was stalking abroad in the land because of economic exploitation—this they would remedy. The teeming millions of India were in the jaws of famine and death: to rescue them became a religious duty to those that had seen the light. Above all, were they anxious to assert their self-respect and to regain national pride, which had been lost to them by the wholesale emasculation of the nation for over a century and a half. The World War, which had been an occasion for the enunciation of many a beautiful idea, gave a new impulse and vitality to their long-cherished desires and ideals.

"Now or Never," was the suppressed feeling. But the moderate elements in the nation prevailed and the repetition of the Easter Rebellion of Ireland was avoided in India. People helped England and the Allies during the war with men and money under the profound conviction that the destruction of German Kaiserism would mean the application of the Right of Self-Determination to all the subject nations of the world. But that was not to be. Reforms in the existing political machinery of bureaucratic government in India, embodied in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme, were "unsatisfactory and disappointing." The Versailles Treaty was regarded as an insult to the dignity of manhood, a jumble of falsehood and idiocy! People were ready to act—to demand justice by "all legal, constitutional methods"—and down came the "Black" Rowlatt Acts of 1919 upon them! Relief there was none. In gasping breath was again whispered, "Now or Never." Tenser became the atmosphere. Por-

tents of the impending catastrophe were in the air. The inchoate masses were ablaze with indigation, but they were stifled. To make their feelings articulate was needed a man among men, a hero—**their man.** "The part of the people," says a well-known French psychologist, "has been the same in all revolutions. It is never the people that conceives or directs them. Its activity is released by means of leaders." Especially is this true of a country like India where eighty-five per cent of the population is agricultural and indifferent to politics. Nonetheless the country was seething with discontent. With significant stupidity did the bureaucrat's iron hand of repression descend on the people, and the worst would have happened, but Gandhi, the Personification of Peace, came upon the scene, as if to say: "Behold, I give unto you a new gospel and a new commandment: that ye kill not your (so-called) enemy, but kill yourself if you must. Non-Violent Resistance is the true way of Freedom and Self-Realization. Let us not oppose brute force to brute force; rather, let us pit soul force against brute force. Success is assured to Truth Force, to Love Force!" And lo! they responded! The inheritors of Christna and Buddha, of Zarathustra and Jesus, of Mohammed and Moses, became participants in the Satyagraha or Passive Resistance movement, propounded and launched by India's Saint.

A "Saint"!—yes; his frail figure, weighing less than a hundred pounds, Gandhi is more spirit than body. There is the spark of unquenchable fire in his eyes. A prominent forehead, a sweet expression, the kind eyes and a happy smile—he is the typical Hindu idealist. His moustaches are closely clipped and his aquiline nose reminds one of his Aryan heredity. Fruit is his daily food—perhaps rice, rarely milk—and he is active for eighteen hours a day. The inward purity of the soul finds its outward expression in his charmingly simple, spotless, white garments made of home-spun Khadi, woven by him-

self or perhaps by some of his pupils, and sewn by his wife. His bare and rugged feet are ever ready at the service of the Motherland. The pleasure of incessant work is the only respite he gets. In his heart is burning the fiery Idealism for the Uplift of Humanity. Devotion to an ideal—from beginning to end! In the true sense of the word is his a consecrated life! Such is Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called by the people in loving reverence and gratitude **Mahatma** (Great Soul: Saint).

How was the leader to bring deliverance unto his oppressed people? In days gone by, Moses had led the oppressed Jews out of Egypt and had newly given unto them the laws which are as old as the human race. Not by leading Indians out of the field of oppression, however, but by leading them into the very heart of the most active centre of oppression, namely prison walls and bars, did Mahatma Gandhi give unto his people the age-old laws of Non-Violence and Passive Resistance, of kindness, gentleness, peace and love. Against the brute force of the European colonials in South Africa, Gandhi opposed the soul force of the Indian community. For two weary decades (1894-1914) the struggle went on: the trying, purifying ordeal, which, in the words of Lord Ampthill, meant for the Indians "suffering and ruin," while for the Colony it meant "a scandal and a disgrace." But the Son of Righttousness, beclouded for a moment, shone triumphant on the horizon in the East. Through suffering and privation, with the weapon of Passive Resistance, did the Indian Community rectify the wrong done to it and obtained justice—for itself and for humanity. The Twentieth Century came knocking at the door of Humanity, when the fight between Moral Force and brute force was going on. Everywhere violence and bloodshed, plots and conspiracies, ammunitions and armaments—it was a loathsome sight to our tender distinguished Guest! Enraged at the stupidity of man, like the Hindu Goddess Maha Kali,

she began in 1914 to make a clean cut of man's follies, and today the process is still going on! She seems to be quite determined to keep steadily at her job, until all the follies, and therewith the makers of them, are swept away. Woe betide the human race if this fight between moral force and brute force be not decided within a generation! If the human race is to be saved, if the social system is to be rescued from complete collapse, if we are to be spared extinction, then must we fall back upon the eternal principle: **He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.**

Unless sanity prevails in human society, we are done. But in spite of overwhelming evidence, we are not rushing headlong to destruction. A faint glimmer on the horizon—the rays of Light are penetrating from the East. The dawn of the new day has broken! In the words of Gandhi: "Non-Violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. **The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.**" Such is India's message, of which Gandhi is the personification.

Chapter II

LIFE-STORY OF GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi! What a richness of romance that name recalls. What tales of a young Passive Resister who dared to express himself against the menacing tyranny of Imperialism—of the "white man's burden!" An aristocrat, son of a Prime Minister, a Barrister-at-law, who gave up everything for his people; a Washington who is leading the masses to freedom by education, by self-discipline, instead of bayonets; watched, scrutinized, respected, arrested, imprisoned, treated like an ordinary felon in the dark cell of British prison-houses, brought back under the flaming banner of hope and success, honored and loved as no other man of modern times has been honored or loved, misunderstood and maligned, hoping for success in suffering and working to the end of self-discipline, the best loved and the most hated man in the world today, Gandhi's career of thirty years has been one of self-discipline, of organization of masses, a clean record of "something attempted, something done"; a career lived in the abundance and fullness of life. Mahatma Gandhi, the Savior of his people—the prophetic voice of a New World!

On the 2nd of October, 1869, was born Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Porbunder, his birthplace, is a seacoast town in Kathiawar, which is a province in the Bombay Presidency. The Gandhi clan belong to the **Bunnia** community (Vaishya), which is the

third of the four great groups or castes* of Hindu society. Statesmanship, keen interest in people's weal, dauntlessness and straightforwardness were characteristic of his immediate ancestors. Both his father and grandfather were ministers in the small Indian States of Porbunder and Rajkote. His uncle was also a minister of Porbunder.

Gandhi's father was a very religious man, who would devotedly perform his services every morning and read the **Bhagavad-Gita.** His mother, too, was very religious. At times she would fast for days and no mendicant would be turned away empty-handed from her door. They were by faith Vaishnavas, i. e., followers of Christna, one of the greatest incarnations of Vishnu, the Eternal Christ Spirit, who taught ecstatic devotion to God; fellowship with the universe; service to all, violence to none. In this religious atmosphere at home was laid the foundation of the boy's character. The seed was sown—the rest was left to time and circumstances.

Rebel and revolutionary Gandhi has been from his early days. The Hindus do not eat meat—is it merely a superstition or an outworn religious dogma? The answer to these doubts was secret, practical lessons in meat-eating on the banks of the river, in company with a rebel group. In a moment were hurled down centuries of traditions when the young rebels ate meat for the first time. "It tasted at first nauseous, but worst of all, the memory of it haunted the darkness of the night and there was no sleep for the sinners." Very soon it was discontinued. Then, at the age of fourteen, there came a spiritual crisis in Mohandas' life. Being of an enquiring nature, he wanted to know "how this or that could be so, and why it was so." Orthodox Hinduism gave no satisfactory answer to the boy. To him, the religious observances of his mother were mean-

*I, Brahmin (Priest); II, Kshatyra (Administrator-Warrior); III, Vaishya (Merchant); IV, Shudra (Servant).

ingless. And the answer to perplexities was **atheism.** An atheist, a rebel against traditions, prepared to outrage all moral sanctions of the community, provided it satisfied his conscience—such was Gandhi in his early years—child is indeed father to the man.

The young boy was betrothed at the age of eight and married at the age of twelve. Some time before marriage, the bride-elect was brought to Gandhi's home and the two children became playmates. "Mr. Gandhi, like most Indian reformers, is strongly opposed to child marriage. He regards it as having sapped the vital strength of his nation, and as being at the root of many other evils. But he argues that such a life-union begun before habits and character have been formed is capable, if it prove happy, of reaching an ideal oneness of spirit which cannot be reached in any other way. This, probably, is the issue of his own experience. Mrs. Gandhi has been a true-hearted, heroic wife." Not immediately after marriage, however, but after attaining maturity did the couple take up the responsibilities of married life.

Gandhi's school days were not otherwise of special interest. He used to pursue his studies, rarely participating in the wild excesses of youth. He first went to the Primary School, where he learned the Gujrati A-B-C, then he went to the (English) Middle School and then to High School. He passed his matriculation examination, and joined College at Bhavanagar. He had decided to complete his course of studies in College, but the clear-sighted Brahmin priest of the family, detecting his ability, turned the young man's mind into another direction and persuaded him to go to London for the study of law. Adventure, joy of risk, new circumstances, sight-seeing, together with ambitions for advancement, mingled with his dreams—so he determined to go.

The news of his intended visit to England spread like wildfire. His friends asked him to give up

the idea. But budge Gandhi would not. His caste people in Bombay and Porbunder excommunicated him for his pollution of religion by crossing the "Black Water." Most difficult was it to persuade his mother to permit him to leave the shores of India. "Realistic tales of London life had filled her with horror. Nights were spent in prayer and days in argument, before at last she consented. But even then consent was only given on condition that the youth should bind himself by a three-fold oath of renunciation." The threefold vow of abjuring the temptations of flesh, wine and sexual intercourse was taken in the presence of a Jain priest, Gandhi's spiritual guide.

So the youth started, and in September, 1888, found himself in London. Very soon, under the influence of an affectionate, elderly friend, Gandhi was in the process of making an "English gentleman" of himself. During the first three months, he wasted a lot of time and spent a great deal of money needlessly. Of this chapter of his life, Gandhi says: "I thought it was necessary for me to take dancing lessons, and lessons in elocution and lessons in French and even violin lessons. You know I have no ear for Western music and the result was a ludicrous failure. The violin was to cultivate the ear; it only cultivated disappointment. Still, as I thought the only way to become an English gentleman was to learn such accomplishments, I persevered with the violin." In three months, however, the witchery of a false ideal lost its charm for the Nazarite.

Efforts to surprise him into laxity failed; plausible arguments had no weight. He would not join a dinner-party where meat was to be served. It was the threefold vow that held the anchor. He sold his violin, gave up his elocution and dancing lessons and began to live a rigorous life. Along with his studies for the Bar at the Inner Temple, he took

private lessons for the London Matriculation examination.

"Renting a room, and investing in a stove," says the late Rev. J. J. Doke., Gandhi's biographer, "he was able to keep all his expenses within 4 pounds (about 20 dollars) a month. He cooked his own breakfast and supper, which, being simply porridge, required no great culinary skill. Dinner he took at a vegetarian restaurant, never exceeding one shilling, sometimes making it sixpence. The idea of the 'English gentleman' was forgotten in the passion of the student."

To London Gandhi owes not a little for his mental and spiritual development. His boyish atheism and agnosticism had made him restless. He now began to attend Christian churches. Some of the preachers he liked—others he did not care for. He became interested in Theosophy and saw Madame Blavatsky. At this stage, his acquaintance with the Sermon on the Mount made a new man of him and it became a vital factor of permanent interest in his life. Atheistic notions left him for good. His native religious disposition began to exert a great deal of influence on his thinking and reading. And the association of a Gujrati verse that he had come across in his boyhood days strengthened his faith and conviction in the Sermon on the Mount. The substance of the verse is: "Real beauty consists in doing good for evil." The writings of Ruskin, Tolstoy and Thoreau also began to influence his thinking. And now he began the study of **Bhagavad-Gita**, which is the quintessence of Hindu Philosophy. The fascinating beauty of the **"Song Celestial"** enthralled him. Of this epochal event in his life, Gandhi says: "The Gita opened to me a new view of life. It touched my spirit as perhaps it can only touch a child of the East. I had found at last, as I believed, the light I needed." A Hindu atheist turned into a believer in God in the heart of London, the very symbol

of "modern civilization," against which Gandhi has so much to say!

He passed his examination with credit and at the end of three years was called to the Bar. Immediately he went to India, a changed man, a believer in God, imbued with the ideals of asceticism and simplicity.

II

What a contrast between English democracy at home and its offshoot, British Bureaucracy in India? Not unnaturally did the contrast force itself on the impressionable mind of the young barrister and it made him an ardent lover of his country, his fiery patriotism leading him on the path of consecration. A new man, Gandhi returned to his homeland: believer, patriot, seeker after truth, dedicated to the service of India. Unlike other England-returned men, he would put on his simple, ancestral costume; it seemed to him that a Hindu in India wearing semi-European dress was like some bird in borrowed feathers. For eighteen months he lived in the land, studying, watching, scrutinizing, pursuing the sacred paths of love, self-discipline and spiritual self-realization.

Then came an offer, toward the end of 1892, from South Africa to go there to conduct the law-suit of an Indian firm. With his acceptance of the offer, Gandhi unknowingly opened a new chapter in his life. The very next day after his landing in Natal, he tasted the bitter cup of humiliation—humiliation which was the daily lot of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa because of their "dark" skin. He was seated at the horse-shoe in the court with his barrister's turban on, according to Eastern habits of respect, and the judge rudely ordered him to remove his hat. Immediately he left the court, smarting under a sense of insult. * * * On his way to Charlestown from Natal, he was forcibly dragged out of the first-class compartment for which he held

a ticket, by a police constable, and his bundles were pitched out after him. All this was done that a "white" passenger might occupy the compartment all by himself. Immediately the train steamed off and Gandhi was left shivering all night in the waiting room at Pietermaritzburg. This was in British territory. In the Transvaal, then under the Boer government, things were no better. On his coach journey in the Transvaal he again felt the disadvantage of being an Indian. The guard, a burly Dutchman, wishing to smoke, laid claim to Gandhi's seat, asking the Indian to sit down at his feet; this Gandhi refused to do, whereupon a severe blow was given him on the face. Gandhi held on to the rail, another blow would have knocked him down, when the passengers interfered, and the "poor beggar" was "let alone"! In high-class hotels, there would be "no room" for the Indian—so strong was the color prejudice! He would be kicked off his path by the sentry in front of President Kruger's house. * * * All this taught him the value of suffering and self-restraint. He made up his mind to undergo all suffering, privation and humiliation that attached to his race and color. With the thin veneer of civilization, the semi-barbarous European colonials did not realize the immense debt of gratitude the world owes to ancient India; ignorant of the fact that the Hindus belong to the same family of the human race as they themselves, namely the Aryan, and that the languages of the world, directly and indirectly, owe not a little to Sanskrit.

The **Afrikländer** has indeed savage manners and customs. Economic imperialism will make brutes of the gentlest souls—what then to speak of the degraded creatures enveloped in the darkness of materialism? The European colonists of South Africa indeed acted with brutal ferocity toward the Asiatics. They did not question the barbarity of their methods nor the inhumanity of their purposes. The wilderness of Africa had to be converted into

a garden. Whence to get the man-power for the purpose? The European colonists, acting in concert with the British government, opened employment agencies all over India—particularly in Madras—over half a century ago, and persuaded the illiterate masses of India to sign the contract or "indenture" to go over to South Africa—"the land flowing with milk and honey." Once the richest country in the world, India had her wealth drained off to the English coasts by sharp practices and extortionate transactions; so she could not any more support her teeming millions. To flee away from the jaws of hunger and starvation, not a few signed the indenture and went to South Africa. But flying from the fire, they fell into the frying-pan. It was not "indentured labor"; it was serfdom, pure and simple. And the racial hatred, prejudice against the Hindus for their dark skin, segregation of the Asiatics, ticket-of-leave permits, thumb impression (instead of signature on the registration form)—"the brand of the criminal"—non-admission to the "dark-skinned Hindus" to Christian fellowship in not a few churches of Christ—such was the Africa of a generation ago. What an irony of fate the very people who turned the wilderness into a habitable place, builded up towns, cities, railroads, etc., were debarred from utilizing the products of their labor! In such environments Gandhi spent a whole year, the period of his agreement.

During this one year, Gandhi attended Bible classes and read Tolstoy, Hindu philosophy, the whole of the Bible and other kindred literature. With reference to the "Sermon on the Mount," he says, "Surley, there is no distinction between Hinduism as represented in the **Bhagwad-Gita,** and this revelation of Christ; both must be from the same source."

At the end of the year 1893, the law-suit was successful. The case was finished, but a cause presented itself. Drastic legislation, disabling Indians, and discriminating against them on the basis of color and race, was under way. The young barrister gave

up his idea of carving out a career in India and made up his mind to settle in South Africa and fight the "cause" of his oppressed fellow-countrymen. If a refined gentleman like himself had to receive kicks, how much worse must be the condition of others of his countrymen, most of whom were indentured laborers? He enrolled himself in the Natal Law Court, notwithstanding the protests of the Natal Law Society against the "colored barrister!" "Then followed two years of hard work, practising, organizing, educating, with all the force and energy of his enthusiastic nature."

In 1896 he went back to India to bring his wife and children. By presenting first-hand information and vivid descriptions, he aroused public sentiment in India against Colonial ill-treatment of the Indians. Reuter* falsely exaggerated the statement of facts made by Gandhi, and the indignant Natalians were in no mood to receive him back. Ships carrying Gandhi and other Indian passengers were kept at the entrance of the bar for thirty days because the crowds were threatening. They would not let a single Indian land on the "virgin" soil of South Africa. In spite of stormy demonstrations, Gandhi landed and was set upon by a turbulent, excited mob. They threw stones, fish and rotten eggs at him. Twice he was brutally kicked and had it not been for the heroism and timely help of a courageous English lady, the wife of the Superintendent of Police, he would have been beaten to death. No sooner did she recognize Gandhi, than she made her way through the crowd and went to his assistance.

Gradually, the storm subsided. Gandhi resumed his practice at court and the Indian community was given practical lessons in organization, discipline and mass action by the starting of the Natal Indian National Congress and the Natal Indian Educational Congress, to both of which he acted as honorary secretary.

*Reuter is an English news distributing agency.

This peaceful work of organization went on for two years and some odd months; the community was feeling the pulse of a new awakening, when all of a sudden came a bolt from the blue. The British-Boer War broke out in October, 1899. The Dutch Republic of the Transvaal was a rich and fertile country; British Imperialists cast their wistful eyes on it and the result was war. Simple child of Nature, Gandhi took the British politicians at their own word. They professed harsh ill-treatment of Indians by the Boers as one of the causes leading to war. Misled by gross ignorance of the issues at stake, Gandhi offered his help to the British in their fight against the Boers, who were struggling for freedom. To Gandhi the war did not smack of imperialistic designs on the part of England; rather did it symbolize to him as a fight for right—how he only can explain! His offer of an Indian Ambulance Corps was first contemptuously rejected but later on solicitously accepted when the dire need arose. The brave sons of Hindustan worked under fire, risked their lives and did splendid relief work. Gandhi himself was at their head and thru mistake was described in an official dispatch as "Assistant Superintendent." The precious services of the Indians have been recorded, Gandhi's name has been mentioned in dispatches and he received a medal for his patriotic services to the Empire. In 1901, Gandhi was given a public farewell, and accompanied by his wife and children he left the shores of South Africa with no idea of going back.

But he was soon to be disillusioned. The war came to an end in 1902 and the Garden Colony fell into the hands of England. The little finger of the British government was thicker than the loins of the Boer Republic. The Boer government had indeed stung the Indians with whips but the newly-constituted British government stung them with scorpions. A new Asiatic department was opened and all Asiatics were to be treated as a "distinct species apart" and

to be legislated against separately. Joseph Chamberlain's visit to South Africa in regard to the post-war reconstruction work was imminent. The Indian community cabled to Gandhi requesting his presence in South Africa to draft and present a memorial to Mr. Chamberlain in their behalf. So with his wife and children Gandhi again went to South Africa and reached Pretoria (in the Transvaal) on the 1st of January, 1903. A memorial was presented to Mr. Chamberlain. Gandhi enrolled himself as a barrister in the Transvaal, where the next fight was to be fought. The ministers were new and unapproachable. In Natal, he was looked upon with respect, but in the Transvaal, where there is a preponderance of the Boers, he was despised for his help to the British in the late war. Thru the agency of the Asiatic department, the British government recognized and enforced "the principle of segregation, with its imposition of degrading restrictions and its brand of the criminal." It was the recognition of this principle of segregration which led in July, 1906, to the passage of the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance by the Provisional Government. Around this fatal ordinance was to hinge the struggle of Passive Resistance. But to that we will direct our attention later on.

Just arrived from India, Gandhi brought with him the sympathies and admiration of a whole nation. He was impelled to more vigorous action and projected vast enterprises. In a few months he started a weekly journal called "Indian Opinion," which is still being published in English and Gujrati and without which the Passive Resistance Struggle would not have been possible. In 1904, he dreamed the dream of starting a Tolstoyan colony at Phoenix, near Durban (in Natal). The printing plant was transferred; those connected with the paper also went to Phoenix and formed the nucleus of a colony. People lived simply and all did manual work. Mr. Gandhi himself would, in brief intervals of harrassing toil in Johannesburg, find complete rest in retiring

to his home on the Settlement and working as others did; it was the penance of the Yogi. The projects cost Gandhi a great deal; they "absolutely impoverished the dreamer," to quote his biographer.

In viewing these brilliant achievements, let us not overlook another mighty piece of work, a humanitarian deed, done by Gandhi in the early part of 1904. There was a severe outbreak of bubonic plague in Johannesburg, and the municipality failed to act quickly. Stricken by this terrible disease, twenty-one Indians working in the mines died in one day. Mr. Gandhi went up to the afflicted area and aided by his comrades, broke open a vacant Indian store and separated the infected from the rest. It was this prompt action that saved Johannesburg from being overwhelmed by plague. This "splendid work" received official recognition and Gandhi's timely help and prompt action were appreciated. The crisis over, Johannesburg went on its way, unconscious of its danger, insensible to the services rendered by a handful of Indians. History seems to repeat itself; let us recall a past instance of the same nature: **"Now there was found in it a poor, wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man!"**

Of a similar nature are the services rendered by Mr. Gandhi to the government, when the Zulus rebelled against it. At his suggestion the Natal Congress offered the services of a Stretcher Bearer Corps, as in the late war. The corps consisted of twenty "free"* Indians; Gandhi acted as Sergeant-Major, and was assisted by three Sergeants and one Corporal.

The Zulus, struggling for justice and for right in their own land, came in for a severe lashing at the hands of the British troops. The supposed work of Gandhi's Corps was to carry the wounded but early in the campaign other duties were pressed upon them. It meant a month of hard, self-sacrificing toil, involving the most gruesome of tasks. "Mr. Gandhi

*Free as distinguished from Indentured.

speaks with great reserve of this experience. What he saw he will never divulge. I imagine it was not always creditable to British humanity. As a man of peace hating the very thought of war, it was almost intolerable for him to be so closely in touch with this expedition. At times, he doubted whether his position was right. No one besides his men, however, was prepared to do the work and sheer pity for the sufferers forbade them to relinquish it. Not infrequently the condition of the lashed men who were placed in their charge, was appalling, the wounds filthy, their lives hanging in the balance. So these Indians toiled at their irksome tasks day after day, cleansing wounds, binding up rents which the lash had made, carrying the helpless men behind the cavalry, up and down the hills for twenty and twenty-five miles at a stretch, or attending to the sanitation of the camp"—thus, the late Rev. Joseph J. Doke, Gandhi's biographer.

The fine appreciation of others' suffering is commendable. Nursing the wounded and the lashed deserves an unstinted meed of praise. But one wonders whether it would not have been finer and more praisworthy to obstruct or to destroy the evil, responsible for untold suffering, by joining hands with the sufferers? Perhaps that was not possible. As it was—"this Ambulance Corps tenderly ministering to the wounded or cruelly-lashed Zulus, with the son of an Indian Prime Minister at their head, is worthy of an artist's brush. Some day, perhaps it will have its meed." In appreciation of his services, government again awarded Mr. Gandhi a medal.

Let us now follow more closely the fluctuating fortunes of the historic Passive Resistance Struggle in the Transvaal. "British Indians were nearly all pre-war residents of the Transvaal. They held permits from the Dutch government, for which they had paid a statutory fee of 3 to 25 pounds, or else they were recognized as having a right to reside there by virtue of possessing Peace Preservation

Ordinance permits...It was to win justice and citizenship for these that Mr. Gandhi directed all his energy."

Registration offices were opened up by the Asiatic department, but the Indians would not register, because they had previous rights. Then Lord Milner, High Commissioner, made the following announcement: "I think that registration is a protection to them. To that registration there is attached a three pound tax. It is only asked for once; those who have paid to the old government have only to prove that they have done so and they have not to pay it again. Again, once on the register, their position is established and no further registration is necessary, nor is a fresh permit required. That registration gives them a right to be here and a right to come and go." Thereupon, the Indians voluntarily registered themselves.

In 1905, Lord Selborne replaced Lord Milner as High Commissioner and was waited upon by an Indian deputation, headed by Gandhi. Their various grievances were recited, and a memorial presented. The plague in Johannesburg had scattered the Indians all over the country and this gave rise to a suspicion that there was going on an "illicit flooding" of the Colony by the Indians. Lord Selborne personally inquired into the matter and satisfied himself that the rumor was false. For a time things went well, but in July, 1906, Lord Selborne let the Provisional Government introduce the discriminative Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance, calling upon the Hindus and the Chinese to re-register on a racial discriminative basis—thus breaking Lord Milner's word. Before the Ordinance was actually passed, the Indian community offered voluntary re-registration, provided the legislation involving racial taint were not proceeded with. The offer was not heeded. So, on September 11, 1906, in the Empire Theater, in Johannesburg, a mass meeting of Indians resolved upon and took the vow of Passive Resistance, in

case the Ordinance should receive Royal sanction. Of historic importance is their burning the voluntary registration certificates. According to another resolution the deputation consisting of Mr. Ally and Mr. Gandhi went to London. Their misssion was accomplished. A committee was formed to watch Indian interests in the Colony and the colonial secretary, Lord Elgin, promised that the Ordinance would be hung up on the wall until the Constitutional Government was formed in the Transvaal. Mr. Gandhi returned to South Africa, only to be disillusioned. The Constitutional Government passed the same Act, and Lord Selborne counselled Royal sanction. Then in 1907, definitely started the Passive Resistance Struggle. Deliberately would the members of the community hawk or trade without license and get arrested. Gandhi himself was arrested toward the end of December, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment without hard labor.

General Smuts, uneasy of conscience, negotiated with Gandhi after three weeks' imprisonment. And as a result of the compromise mutually arrived at, the Passive Resisters were released. The compromise consisted in (1) on the part of Indians, voluntarily re-registrating themselves and (2) on the part of government, in repealing the obnoxious law, after the re-registrations had been successfully made.

On his way to the Registration office one morning in February, 1908, Mr. Gandhi was set upon and almost beaten to death by a few of his misguided Mohamedan followers who thought that he was compromising his own dignity and the honor of the Indian community. Bleeding profusely, Gandhi signed the registration certificate and then became unconscious. When he came to consciousness, he found himself being taken care of and nursed by Mr. and Mrs. Doke and others. With fine large-heartedness, he forgave his would-be murderers, and took no part in legal proceedings against them; on the contrary, he stood security for their future good

behavior and won them over to his views. Save for this almost fatal incident, the registrations henceforward went on smoothly. The Indians did their part of the agreement—they voluntarily re-registered themselves—and then General Smuts "broke faith." "It must have been a misunderstanding," said the wily diplomat. Whereupon the struggle was resumed and the prison-house became the Holy of Holies. All the new voluntary re-registration certificates were burnt. Prisons became jammed with the Asiatics, both Indians and Chinese. Gandhi was arrested on October 16, 1908, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment with hard labor this time.

On his release from prison, Mr. Gandhi organized two deputations, one to India and the other to England. Some members of the deputations having been arrested on the eve of their departure, Mr. Polak alone went to India and Mr. Gandhi with a colleague went to England. From the time of their landing in July, 1909, Gandhi and his co-workers, the British Committee, embarked upon "delicate negotiations with a view to arriving at a quiet settlement." The negotiations proved abortive, and they enunciated their position, which was: "that they will tolerate no law which does not put them on a footing of equality with Europeans in regard to restriction on immigration. They are willing to see the number of Asiatics limited by administrative action....They insist on equality in the terms of the law itself." In India, simultaneously, Mr. Polak was doing splendid educational work, and the indignant people brought pressure to bear upon the British Indian government, which in turn urged the Imperial government to take action. All these activities resulted in a dispatch dated October 7, 1910, wherein the British government formulated its position: namely, that "any solution (of the Transvaal controversy) which prejudiced or weakened the present position of Indians in the Cape Colony and Natal would not be acceptable to His Majesty's Government." The dispatch

"powerfully recommended the repeal of Act 2 of 1907, (i. e. The Asiatic Law Amendment Act), the removal of the racial bar, and the substitution for the latter of the Indian suggestion of non-racial legislation modified by administrative differentiation."

In 1911, accordingly, a provisional settlement was arrived at between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community, whereby Government undertook to remove the racial bar and to repeal the Transvaal Act No. 2 of 1907, known as the Asiatic Law Amendment Act. In 1912, Government failed to carry out its pledge, and promised that the next year's session of Parliament would remedy the wrong. But the Bill of 1913 was worse than all the previous years—it undermined the provisional settlement of 1911. In that year the confusion became worse confounded and the glaring breach of promise was followed by the notorious Searle judgment, whereby the Transvaal courts refused to recognize the validity of Indian marriages. This resulted in the third and culminating phase of the struggle. A peaceful "army" of 3,000 Indians—men, women and children—marched upon the Transvaal without permits, that they might be arrested. Their aim was either to reach Tolstoy Farm owned by Mr. Kallenbach, at Lawly near Johannesburg, or prison. On the way Mr. Gandhi was arrested, and released on bail. Further on he was again arrested but as the Indians refused to leave the court precincts until their leader was restored to them, he was released. Once again he joined the "army." As the "invaders" were nearing their goal, Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with hard labor. The rest of the "army" also was arrested and sent back to Natal, where criminal proceedings in the court awaited them. But all the Passive Resisters were released in two months' time, a Royal Commission was appointed; Rev. Mr. Andrews and Mr. Pearson, true English friends of India, brought the message of peace and healing and General Smuts was com-

pelled to accede to all the legitimate and reasonable demands of the Indians. Mr. Gandhi then formally announced the close of the struggle.

This impressive march vindicated the triumph of spirit over matter, of soul force over brute force. The Asiatic Relief Act of 1914 settled the two main issues of the struggle: namely, that the Indians were to be treated on a footing of equality with Europeans in the matter of immigration into the Colony and that they would be no more subjected to pay the humiliating three pound tax. Thus terminated the prolonged Passive Resistance struggle, which entailed immense suffering, privation and financial loss to the Indian community; the struggle, which molded heroes out of clay; the struggle out of which, with the triumph of the spirit, emerged Mahatma Gandhi, the destined Leader of his people.

III

The nearest approach to perfection being possible only in India, the land of his ideals to which he had become a stranger, Mr. Gandhi now made up his mind to return to his homeland. Faithful to his instinct for service, he hurried to England, where he heard that his friend and Guru, Mr. Gokhale, was critically ill. He reached England on the second day after England's entrance into the World War. Mr. Gokhale was slowly recovering. Belonging as he did to the old school of politics, Mr.Gandhi thought it was India's duty to help the Empire in its hour of peril. I wonder what the deciding factor was; whether logic, reason, or pure sentiment. Anyway, he gave perfect proof of his loyalty to the Empire by organizing an Indian Volunteer Corps in London, enrolling amongst the members, himself and his devoted wife, who had just been snatched from the jaws of death. But his health began to break down, so he and his wife immediately proceeded to India. They landed at Apollo Bunder, Bombay, on the 9th of January, 1915, and were given public reception. Replying to

the toast, he said, in conclusion, with reference to himself and his wife: "Hitherto you have known nothing of my failures. All the news that you have received related to my successes. Here you will now see us in the naked light, and will see our faults; anticipating such faults and failures, I ask you to overlook them. With this appeal, as humble servants, we shall commence the service of our country."

For a whole year, Gandhi toured the country. He was an honored guest at all sorts of functions, official and non-official. The Government of India marked its appreciation of his work in South Africa by presenting him the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. In April, 1915, he was specially invited to attend the annual gathering of the Madras Law Dinner and to propose a toast to the British Empire. "A determined opponent of modern civilization and an avowed patroit," he could reconcile himself to the British Empire, because, to quote his own words, "I discovered that the British Empire had certain ideals with which I have fallen in love, and one of those ideals is that every subject of the British Empire has the freest scope possible for his energies and honor and whatever he thinks is due to his conscience....I am no lover of government—that government is best which governs least. And I have found that it is possible for me to be governed least under the British Empire. Hence my loyalty to the British Empire." Time and again, he would warn students of the dangers of violence and "anarchical crimes," and would exhort them to be manly, to practice Ahimsa, non-violence, truthfulness, dauntlessness. At the Cooperation Conference, he discoursed on the moral basis of cooperation. At a gathering of missionaries, he expounded his views on Swadeshism (the cult that insists on one's utilizing, vitalizing, revitalizing, if need be, whatever is handed down to one). He effectively quoted from the Bible and the Quran as from the Gita. His discourse on Economic

versus Moral Progress he based on the authority of Christ's Gospel. He rebuked enthusiastic students, like myself, if they used English as the medium of expression, while welcoming him. Now he would idealize Hindu society, and now he would stigmatize it. He would never weary of knocking into the heads of his hearers that "the curse of untouchability is a black spot on Hinduism." He would express his disgust and dissatisfaction with leaders, who, while preaching the Swadeshi doctrine, would put on English-made clothes, tailored in European fashion. He would discourse on the virtue and necessity for India of the spinning-wheel. "Doing violence to his sense of what is right," he would still travel by railway. Not in the cosy first-class compartment, however, would you find him, but in the filthy, overcrowded third-class compartment. Having first-hand information of the terrible conditions of the third-class passengers, he would fight their cause.

During his tour over the country, explaining the ethics of the South African Passive Resistance Struggle, and expounding his views on Indian conditions, he reaped a goodly harvest of experiences, information and intimate touch with the masses. He was thoroughly satisfied with the reasonableness and fine qualities of the peasantry, the backbone of India.

In 1916, he settled down in Ahmedabad (in the Bombay Presidency), started a novel school called the Satyagrah-Ashram (the Abode of Truth-Seeking), and began to make a collection of precious books in the Indian languages. Students in the school have to observe the eightfold vow: (1) truthfulness, (2) Ahimsa (non-violence), (3) celibacy, (4) control of the palate, (5) non-thieving, (6) non-possession, (7) Swadeshi and (8) fearlessness are the ordinary rules of daily conduct. All education is imparted thru the medium of the Indian languages, English being taught as a secondary language. The dignity of manual labor is recognized and students are taught how to work at hand-looms. Politics, economics,

sociology are taught "in a religious spirit." In this Ashram, Gandhi himself worked at the spinning-wheel and in sewing, instead of the foreign-made needle, he used a thorn. Not a few jeered at him—only the rarest few cheered him.

In the Congress pandal, Gandhi came to be looked upon as being "the most vital personal factor in National self-realization." He was respected by officials and non-officials. The simplicity of his manners and the spiritual fervor of his appeals captivated the peasantry. He soon became the idol of the masses. During the progress of the war, Gandhi, along with all the other leaders of India, studiously avoided unnecessary obstruction in the way of the government. But when the choice was between internal peace with submission to injustice and internal warfare with the prospect of securing justice, he preferred the latter. Thus in April, 1917, in response to an insistent public demand to inquire into the conditions under which Indian laborers were working in the Indigo Plantations in Behar (Bengal presidency), Mr. Gandhi went to the troubled region. The government smelt agitation in his visit. His presence, they feared, might "endanger the public peace" and lead to "serious disturbances which may be accompanied by loss of life." A warrant was served upon him and he was asked to leave the district. He disobeyed the order and had to appear before the court. In concluding his statement, Gandhi said, "I have disregarded the order served upon me not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being—the voice of conscience." Under instructions from higher authorities, the notice was soon withdrawn and Gandhi set free. Early in June a Commission was appointed to inquire into the agrarian troubles on the plantations, and Gandhi's services were requisitioned. As a member of the Commission, he did splendid work on behalf of the laborers. The existing scandals were then frankly admitted by the

government, and relief was granted to the laborers.

Now began the Passive Resistance campaign in the Kheda District (Bombay Presidency). In 1917-18 there was a wide-spread failure of crops in the district. Under the revenue rules, the ryots (peasants) are entitled to full suspension of taxes if the yield be less than one-fourth of the usual crops, and to half suspension if it be between one-fourth and three-eights of the normal crops. The government granted full suspension to one village only out of a total of 600, half suspension to a hundred and some odd villages, and issued orders to collect revenue from the rest. The ryots claimed that the government was wrong in its estimate; Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Patel and others who conducted an inquiry, came to the same conclusion. Government persisted in collecting revenue as usual. Petitions and protests having been of no avail, the peasants resorted to Passive Resistsance under the guidance of Gandhi. The struggle lasted for the first five months of 1918. Those who took the Passive Resistance vow suffered their property to be sequestered, and underwent the privations of prison life, but paid no tax to the government. The well-to-do made a common cause with the poor. As soon as government recognized that the principle for which they were fighting was just, the well-to-do paid up their dues. This struggle and its success were an object-lesson to India.

About this time was held the War Conference in Delhi by the Governor-General. Gandhi was specially invited to attend it and to lend his support and cooperation to the government in its efforts to utilize all the available resources of India, including manpower, for the successful prosecution of war. Tilak, Ali Brothers and Mrs. Besant were not invited, so Gandhi did not think it proper to attend it. But after an interview with Lord Chelmsford on the 26th of April, 1918, he changed his mind and attended it. What a juxtaposition!—non-cooperating with government in Kheda and cooperating with it at Delhi!

Inconsistencies seem to be submerged in the absorbing personality of the Mahatma. To help the enemy in time of duress is a passion with him.

The Passive Resistance struggle being over in Kheda, Gandhi carried on another campaign in the district. He exhorted the people to enlist in the army. It was a terrific somersault! Essentially a man of peace, the apostle of Ahimsa—now turned into a henchman of War and Imperialism! This attitude of his is more puzzling than the one he had taken during the British-Boer War. Does this act suggest the failure of his intellect to grasp the spiritual values he has been preaching, or did the passion to "help out" humanity overwhelm the passion for non-violence? It remains an enigma. But soon the armistice came and no more men were needed; so Gandhi ceased recruiting. Today, the Mahatma has evolved to such an extent that not even the passion to "help out" humanity would induce him to recruit men for violent warfare.*

With the signing of the Armistice, India stood on the threshold of a twilight, whether morning or evening twilight they knew not. Self-Determination —was it to come from within or from without. The British government doled out a few crumbs of reforms formulated by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. The Gujrat Sabha established by Gandhi was doing splendid work as in the Kheda struggle. At

*Gandhi reconciled himself to the recruiting campaign in this wise. He himself did not believe in violence; but since with a great many of his fellow-countrymen non-violence was not a cardinal principle of conduct, they might as well enlist themselves in the army and help the Empire in its hour of peril. Philosophically, according to Gandhi, there are three types of men: the weakling, the average and the superior. The weakling is incompetent to fight, his mouthing of non-violence has no meaning: "A mouse hardly forgives a cat." The average good man asserts himself and defends his right—by force, if need be. But the best are those that in the fullness of their strength forgive their foes. To this last category belongs Gandhi, and he may well be called in his own phrase a "Self-Ruler." If the people of India were unwilling to fight because of weakness and a cowardly fear of death, then he would exhort them to take up arms and learn how to assert manliness. For the assertion of the dignity of manhood is preliminary to the attainment of the divinity of Self-Rule.—H. T. M.

the Gujrat Political Conference and at the Gujrat Educational Conference, to both of which he had been elected President, Gandhi emphasized the need of the moral regeneration of the community from within. Once you reform yourself, you need not depend upon political reforms for the uplift of the nation.

Instead of a large measure of Self-Government, which, Gandhi expected would be given to India, in recognition of her services, the British Government forced upon the people the obnoxious Rowlatt Acts. India had never dreamt of "revolution" nor of "anarchical crimes," in spite of isolated instances of bomb-throwing. People became indignant at the suggestion of the Rowlatt Commisssion that nation-wide, underground, revolutionary activities were going on. The Commission proposed the enacting of two drastic pieces of legislation. By virtue of one, the Government of India which had enjoyed during the war the extraordinary privileges of the Defense of India Act, would retain the same powers even in peace times; by virtue of the other, persons accused of having in their possession a revolutionary document could be arrested by the police and presumed to be guilty by the Court unless they could prove their innocence; the trial was to be conducted not by an ordinary civil court, but by an extraordinary court, a Star Chamber, specially constituted for the occasion, with no jury, and with no right of appeal to any higher tribunal—the accused might well give up all hopes!

On February 28, 1919, the Satyagraha or Passive Resistance Pledge was published in the press and taken by the prominent leaders of India, among them Mr. B. G. Horniman, an Irishman, the editor of the Bombay Chronicle, who was soon deported to England, during the period of convalescence from an operation. The Pledge read: "Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. 1 of 1919

and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. 2 of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property." Prior to the publication of this vow, the Moderates and Extremists had joined hands in condemnation of the proposed Bills. No sooner was the Pledge published than the Moderates smelt "revolution," "anarchism," and they seceded. Even Mrs. Besant, Irish by birth, English by breeding, Indian by adoption, who had been until then a consistent champion of Indian cause, parted company with Gandhi. The "threat of Passive Resistance"—government quietly slept over it, but Gandhi spent many a sleepless night. He toured the country and addressed thousands of people. Now definitely he became their hero. April the 6th was observed as a day of National humiliation and prayer. People fasted, all traffic was suspended, thousands went to the sea-beach in Bombay, Madras and elsewhere in mourning fashion. But in Delhi they observed this day, thru mistake, on Sunday a week preceding, that is, on the 30th of March. The beginning made in Delhi was ominous. The Military authorities wanted to gage the temper of the people, and on the slightest pretext opened fire on them. The Delhi authorities, in Gandhi's words, "made use of a Nashmyth hammer to crush a fly." Unarmed people were shot upon. Gandhi exhorted the Satyagrahis to "steel their hearts." His message regarding the observance of the 6th said: "I hope the speeches on Sunday, the 6th of April, will be free from anger or unworthy passion. The cause is too great and sacred to be

damaged by exhibition of passion. We have no right to cry out against suffering self-invited. Undoubtedly there should be no coercion for the suspension of business or for fast." The 6th of April was observed peacefully all over the country. The Delhi people, in spite of the open wounds of the tragedy in their hearts, assembled peacefully and participated in the nation-wide demonstration. On the 7th, Gandhi issued the first copy of an **unregistered** newspaper, called the **Satyagrahi** in English and two Indian languages, in defiance of the Press Act. It was a one-sheet paper and sold for a price less than a cent in American money. Among other things, it stated: "The Editor is liable at any moment to be arrested, and it is impossible to insure the continuity of publication until India is in a happy position of supplying editors enough to take the place of those who are arrested. It is not our intention to break for all time the laws governing the publication of newspapers. This paper will, therefore, exist so long only as the Rowlatt Legislation is not withdrawn."

Having set fire to the strongholds of the country, Gandhi wanted to move from one place to another and see that the fire consumed only the spirit of violence and nothing else. Playing with fire was certainly better than to be eternally crushed under the stupefying snow-mountains of oppression, injustice and humiliation....Gandhi wanted to bring the message of peace, non-violence and suffering to the militant Punjabis. First he started for Delhi. At Kosi, on his way to Delhi, he was arrested on the morning of the 10th, and simultaneously served with three orders: one from the Punjab Government not to enter that province, another from the Delhi authorities not to enter Delhi and a third from the Government of India, which restricted him to Bombay. The officer serving the warrants treated Gandhi most politely, assuring him that it would be his most painful duty to arrest him if he elected to dis-

obey, but that there would be no ill-will between them. Smilingly Gandhi said, "I must elect to disobey as it is my duty and you ought also to do what is your duty." In his message to his countrymen, he said: "It is a matter of the highest satisfaction to me to have been arrested." He exhorted them to be non-violent all the time and not to resent his arrest.

Under escort he was brought to Bombay on the afternoon of the 11th. The news of Gandhi's arrest had not been received so calmly in the Bombay Presidency. The peasants of Kheda for whom he had worked, the factory-workers of Ahmedabad for whom he had fought with the capitalists and fasted for three weeks to bring about a settlement of the strike, the intellectuals of Bombay whose imagination he had captured—all spontaneously conspired together to work havoc and destruction. Serious riots broke out in Bombay, Ahmedabad and other places; railway communications were derailed and telegraph wires were cut off. About 50 men were arrested in Bombay alone. But the new governor of Bombay, tho a militarist, Sir George Lloyd, did not let Civil authority lapse into the hands of the Military, as was done on the same day in Amritsar. The Mahat ma's stirring appeal to the people of Bombay had the intended effect and all signs of violence disappeared.

Gandhi was deeply grieved at the outbreak of violence. It was not Satyagraha, not truthful practice, it was Duragraha—untruthful conduct. So, he offered Satyagraha against his own people. He had intended to go to Delhi and get rearrested; but as the people could not control their violent temper, he abandoned the plan. The work of destruction was not very heavy, considering the issues at stake; but Gandhi would not tolerate the slightest harm done to anybody or anything. "It seems to me," he said on the 14th, "that the deeds I have complained of have been done in an organized manner. There

seems to be some educated and clever man or men behind them." And on the 18th he announced the temporary suspension of Satyagraha. "It is not without sorrow I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of Satyagraha which impels me to suggest the suspension. I am sorry when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgaum I am convinced that Satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob and that many swarmed round the banner of mischief raised by the mob largely because of their affection for (Miss) Anasuya Bai and myself. Had the Government in an unwise manner not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their orders, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgaum would have remained free from the horrors of the last week. In other words, Satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of Satyagraha has acted as a check ever so slight upon the previously existing lawless elements." In repentance for the sins of others, he fasted for three days and asked his followers to fast 24 hours. Then he cooperated and asked his followers to cooperate with government in restoring order and curbing lawlessness. Every one of his followers should make it a point "to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give government effective cooperation in restoring order and by preaching and practice to gain adherents to the fundamental principles"—the principles of **Arimsa,** (Non-Violence, Suffering and Love), and **Satya** (truthfulness, fearlessness). Thus was closed the historic chapter of Passive Resistance in connection with the Rowlatt Acts. The struggle

made a lasting impression. The country was stirred up to its very depths. The two "Black" Acts, tho on the Statute-Book, have never been applied, and their duration was limited to three years only, tho originally intended to be permanent.

Satyagraha having been suspended, Gandhi directed the nation's attention and energy toward the moral regeneration of the community. The problem of burning foreign cloth and the taking of the Swadeshi vow were also mooted, but somehow abandoned for the time being. And now Gandhi's services were required in a most important work, the investigaton by Congress into the causes leading to the disturbances in the Punjab and into the state of affairs under Martial Law Administration there for six weeks.

The movement in the Punjab was not entirely under the direction of Gandhi. People were doing things on their own initiative. Peaceful suspension of work was carried on in several cities in the Punjab for a whole week, while Satyagraha required it only one day. Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, the beloved leaders of the Punjab, along with a few more were arrested on the 10th and taken to a place of internment. As soon as the people of Amritsar came to know of this, they gathered together and a "not very large crowd of demonstrators" proceeded to the bungalow of the Deputy Commissioner of Amritsar to plead for the release of the prisoners. It is admitted by government officials that "the crowd passed several Europeans on the way but did not molest them." At Hall Gate Bridge, however, they were stopped by the Government troops. The demonstrators insisted on being allowed to go on and in reply the troops fired; several were instantaneously killed and wounded. Infuriated by the sight of their dead and wounded comrades, the crowd ran to the city and brought back more people. Violence broke out here and there. The crowd made another attempt to cross the Hall Gate Bridge; they were again fired upon

with twenty to thirty casualties. It was then that telegraph wires were cut and two railway stations outside the city attacked. In the afternoon General Dyer was instructed by the Commissioner "to take whatever steps he considered necessary to re-establish civil control." At other places in the Punjab too, violence broke out and the news of Gandhi's arrest intensified their feeling. Had Mahatma Gandhi been allowed to go to Delhi and to the Punjab, he would have used all his personal influence and persuaded the people to put a stop to the prolonged strike and to keep a peaceful non-violent attitude. But the stupidity of bureaucracy always errs doubly; it incited violence in the Punjab and in Bombay and it put a stop to the only effective remedy to check violence, namely, Gandhi's appeal to the militant Punjab.

For two days after the disturbance on the 10th of April, there was peace in Amritsar. People, however, were in a sullen mood, having been shocked at what had happened. The village people were flocking into the city, as they annually do at this time of the year, to celebrate religious festivities. This was construed by General Dyer into a mustering of rebel forces. The Indians being prohibited to carry arms even in self-defense, the supposed "rebels" were given the dignified epithet: **Bludgeon-Army.** On the forenoon of the fateful 13th, the day of the Vaishaki fair, at a few street corners was made an official announcement with drum-beats prohibiting any procession or gathering of four men **on the streets.** At 4 p. m. most of the people who did not know of the orders assembled at Jallianwalla Bagh as arranged beforehand, "among other things, for the purpose of condemning mob excesses." The point to note is that the order did not prohibit any meeting in public or private places. "At 12:40 he (Dyer) heard that the meeting at Jallianwalla Bagh was to be held that evening. But he took no steps to prevent it. He waited for it to assemble

and then he marched down on it with his force of rifles and machines. He would have used his machine guns, he declared, if he could have got them into the enclosure. But they were attached to armored cars, which could not be got through the entrances. The thousands of helpless, unarmed people, **some of them boys and children, were at his mercy,** practically penned up in an enclosure from which they could only escape over walls, or through the entrances commanded by his soldiers. And deliberately, in cold blood, calmly directing the fire where the crowd was the thickest, he fired upon them for ten minutes until his ammunition was exhausted."* At this time there was no Martial Law proclaimed. People were not asked to disperse; without warning they were fired upon; the entrances were jammed with the dead and wounded. Nearly 500 were murdered in cold blood and more than 1,500 wounded. These orgies of blood Dyer indulged in—according to his own admission—in order to create an impression on the people of the might of the British Raj. In a well nearby, about a dozen persons found their graves. The wounded were left uncared for; English nurses refused to attend to them. This atrocious massacre was approved by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; General Dyer was promoted and glorified. Then commenced the six weeks' reign of terror, the notorious administration of Martial Law. O'Brien, Doveton, Bosworth-Smith, Frank Johnson and Rai Shri Ram (a Hindu) and Malik Khan (a Moslem) will go down to history as fiends in human form. These administrators of Martial Law inflicted upon the people unheard-of, unparalleled brutalities. According to official confessions before the Hunter Committee, and according to the findings of the National Congress Investigating Committee, of which Gandhi was a member, people were, among other things (1) shut up in narrow cages for hours to-

*"Amritsar and Our Duty to India," by B. G. Horniman.

gether and forced to face the burning sun of India; (2) threatened to be hanged in the streets by the actual erection of gallows; (3) compelled to draw lines on the earth with their noses; to walk on all fours and to crawl on their bellies; (4) made to climb ladders and to skip without halting twenty times and more; (5) flogged naked; (6) limewashed and exposed to the scorching sun; (7) summarily arrested, imprisoned and deported; (8) cruelly shot, bombed, machine-gunned and hanged; (9) children of tender age were flogged and made to walk sixteen miles a day to answer military roll call; (10) women were forcibly unveiled and brutally outraged. Thus was the Punjab humanity outraged in Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Kasur and other places. Newspapers all over the country began to make scathing condemnation of the brutalities. Government tightened the reins of the press—no editorials could be published unless they were first censored by government. At this time Mr. Horniman, the editor of the "Bombay Chronicle," who used also to write for "Young India," was deported. The "Bombay Chronicle," one of the most efficiently conducted dailies of the world, continued publication, leaving the editorial columns blank. The management asked Gandhi to write for "Young India," a weekly journal, and direct its policy. Soon after, he bought the paper, and transferred the editorial offices from Bombay to Ahmedabad. The journal now became Gandhi's personal weekly diary until his arrest on the 10th of March, 1922.

The passing of the Rowlatt Acts, in the teeth of the united opposition of India, was a strong weapon of agitation in the hands of the leaders. Then came the Punjab inhumanities. In a country where newspaper reading is not much in vogue, the teeming millions have to be informed of current events at public meetings, where the masses flock in thousands. The reiteration of grievances on hundreds and thou-

sands of occasions, made the people conscious of the wrongs and injustices done to them. They would go away full of anguish, in high temper, determined to "mend or end" the irresponsible bureaucracy. From far and wide would thousands come to pay their obeisance to the Mahatma, when he was speaking.

During the Christmas holidays of 1918, the good people of Amritsar had extended their invitation to the Congress to hold its next session there, not knowing the terrible calamity that was in store for them. During the Christmas holidays of 1919, delegates and others from all over the country gathered on the scene of the massacre to decide the destinies of the nation. Resolutions were passed condoling the innocent victims' martyrdom, condemning the acts of General Dyer and Michael O'Dwyer, and demanding the recall of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India. The problem was then mooted, as to whether they should co-operate with the government in making the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms a success. The Reform scheme was not substantial, it fell far short of the demands laid down in the Congress-League Scheme of 1916. Should they accept any gift from blood-stained hands? The leaders were divided. Some wanted to stand as candidates for the Reformed Councils, and others realized that according to the scheme, India would get Self-Government —perhaps after a century, if even then! These others wanted to non-cooperate. Tilak stood for non-cooperation, but Gandhi, with infinite moderation and patience, was for absolute cooperation—the two leaders, equally loved by the whole of India, came to an agreement that cooperation would be conditional upon government's response to the people's demands. After the Rowlatt Acts and the Amritsar massacre, how Gandhi could stand for cooperation with government is a mystery. Himalayan firmness, always looking for the good in others—such is

Gandhi's attitude. He had faith in British justice. He thought that the government would redeem the wrongs done to the Punjab and punish the irresponsible excesses of Dyer and O'Dwyer. So he pleaded for cooperation. His moderation gained him additional accession of personal strength, both from the people and from government. And Non-Cooperation was not accepted at the Amritsar Congress in 1919.

But what a somersault overnight! In a few months, Gandhi changed his mind. Now it was a religious question. His Moslem brethren's religion was outraged. The Islamic Holy Places in Arabia, as also Mesapotamia, Syria and Palestine, were all snatched away from the hands of the Sultan of Turkey, who is the Khalifa and as such the Head of the Moslem world. The Holy Places, it is laid down, must be in the hands of the Khalifa and his temporal power must be strong enough to defend Islam from the aggressions of non-Islamic powers. According to the Treaty of Sevres, the Sultan of Turkey was made a prisoner in his own city. The Mohammedans of India, seventy millions in number, were determined to retrieve the wrong done to their religion. England, they believed, was chiefly responsible for Turkey's humiliating position, and it was England that had broken the **solemn promise** in regard to the Khilafat made to the Mohammedans of India. So England they would fight. There were three courses open to them: (1) to resort to violence; (2) to emigrate to Afghanistan and elsewhere on a wholesale scale; (3) to refuse to be party to the injustice by ceasing to cooperate with the Government. It was the last step they took, chiefly through the advice and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi.

On the historic First of August, 1920, the Non-Cooperation movement was launched. Redress of the Khilafat grievance, of the Punjab wrongs and the

attainment of Swaraj were the ends to be pursued. In returning his medals to the government, Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy: "In European countries condonation of such grievous wrongs as the Khilafat and the Punjab would have resulted in a bloody revolution by the people. They would have resisted at all cost national emasculation such as the said wrongs imply. But half of India is too weak to offer violent resistance and the other half is unwilling to do so. I have therefore ventured to suggest the remedy of non-cooperation which enables those who wish to dissociate themselves from the Government and which, if it is unattended by violence and undertaken in an ordered manner, must compel it to retrace its steps and undo the wrongs committed."

The Mohammedans boycotted the Reformed Councils, and were working out the other parts of the program. The urgency of the situation demanded a Referendum; therefore, in September was held in Calcutta the Special Session of the Congress to register people's opinion regarding the turning tide in the affairs of India. In regard to his non-violent non-cooperation program, seeing some of the best leaders of the country arrayed against him, Gandhi said: "I stand before you in fear of God and a sense of duty to put this before you for your hearty acceptance. If you have the same feeling burning in you as in me for the honor of Islam and the Punjab then you will unreservedly accept my resolution." The following is the text of the Non-Cooperation Resolution:—

"In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Musalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Musalman brother

in this attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him:

"And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behavior towards them and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself directly or indirectly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab:

"This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honor and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-cooperation until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

"And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented opinion and in as much as Government consolidates its power through titles and honors bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts and its legislative councils, and in as much as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attain-

ment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

"(a) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies;

"(b) Refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honor;

"(c) Gradual withdrawal of children from Schools and Colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges establishment of National Schools and Colleges in the various Provinces;

"(d) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes;

"(e) Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and laboring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;

"(f) Withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress' advice, offer himself for election; and

"(g) The boycott of foreign goods.

"And in as much as non-cooperation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of non-cooperation to every man, woman and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of re-

viving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honorable calling for want of encouragement." Thus the Congress Resolution.

"They want India's billions and they want India's man-power for their imperialistic greed. If we refuse to supply them with men and money, we achieve our goal, namely, Swaraj, equality, manliness." "And non-cooperation is possible only when those who commenced to co-operate begin the process of withdrawal." Basing his proposition on a "mathematical calculation," Gandhi asserted that if there were sufficient response to his program of non-violent non-cooperation, Swaraj would be attained in one year.

It was an epoch-making decision; for it marked not merely the beginning of political revolution, it also marked the beginning of spiritual renaissance. "I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is a religious battle. I am not ashamed to repeat before you that this is an attempt to revolutionize the political outlook—that this is an attempt to spiritualize our politics." And again, "We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society. Varna-shram (caste-system) is not a reilgion of superiority and inferiority. No man of God can consider another man as inferior to himself. He must consider every man as his blood-brother. It is the cardinal principle of every religion.

"If this is a religious battle, no argument is necessary to convince the reader that self-denial must be its supreme test. Khilafat cannot be saved, the Punjab inhumanity cannot be redressed without godliness. Godliness means change of heart—in political language, changing the angle of vision."

The Congress decision was followed by an intensive campaign for three months, Gandhi touring all over the country. In December, 1920, came the Nagpur Congress. Here his non-violent non-cooperation program was reaffirmed and in the remaining nine months he said he would secure Swaraj for India. The Congress of 1920 took the biggest stride in its whole career of 35 years. The aim of the Congress was "the attainment of self-government within the British Empire by the people of India by all legal, constitutional methods." Gandhi proposed a change in this creed and enunciated the object of the Congress as being "the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." Opposed by not a few leaders, Gandhi carried the day, and now it is the privilege of the Congress to decide whether or not they want British connection. It was an unprecedented moral victory. People went away elated. Then followed another intensive campaign. The key to the eco-economic salvation of India lies in the handloom industry. "Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin," "In the spinning-wheel lies hid the Swaraj of India," "Use pure Swadeshi things in your household. This alone will do you good; 60 crores (i. e., Rs. 600,000,000) go out of the country. Save them and win Swaraj in nine months." Referring to the manufacture of **malmal,** which is akin to the famous muslin of India, Gandhi says, "I myself am a good workman and I can work it." The flag of Swaraj, significant of the spirituality of the people, carries the symbol of the **spinning-wheel.**

April 6th to 13th, 1921, was observed as a National Week and the campaign for Swaraj reached every home and hearth. By August 1st, Gandhi collected thousands of Rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and supplied hundreds of homes with the spinning-wheel. On that historic day the foreign goods, owned by Indians, were collected on the sea-beach in Bombay

and were made a bon-fire of. Gandhi himself lighted the immense heap of clothes. There was violence in that bon-fire of foreign goods, but it was not the violence of the Boston Tea Party of 1776.

India was wide awake. Injustice would be dealt with as it deserved, in all departments of national life. Now, it is the strike of the Assam tea-plantation workers, the last victims of enforced serfdom. Now, it is the factory-workers' strike. The nation was realizing its hidden strength—a new India was born, with the message of a New World Order. People were expectant; the rich were brooding with melancholy over the impending calamity, the poor were striving for the ideal. September came and went—but no Swaraj was attained! Gandhi had made up his mind and declared his intention that if Swaraj was not attained by the end of the promised period, he would retire to the Himalayas. He had an extraordinary faith in the masses. But from emasculation to self-rule, from serfdom to independence—one year is not a sufficient period of transition. Mighty nations like France and America took years before they reached the promised land through the stress and strain of stormy vicissitudes. Russia is yet in the throes of transition. India cannot expect manna to rain from heaven. In spite of his anguish, Gandhi changed his mind and resumed the work. Non-Cooperation, the revolution to which he had given non-violent instruments, was in full swing, when in September the Moplah rising broke out in Malabar. Non-Cooperation had nothing to do with it. The leaders of the peaceful revolution were not allowed to preach their gospel of non-violence to the illiterate, fanatical Moplahs. The British began to search their homes for firearms, they also threatened the destruction of a mosque. In the midst of serious agrarian difficulties, these aggressions came as a bolt from the blue. There was violence. Cooperator or non-cooperator, non-Muslims fell victims to the

frenzy of the Moplah. It was hailed as the beginning of revolution in some quarters outside of India, but in India itself it was deeply deplored and considered a check to the further effective progress of non-cooperation. None condemned the breach of non-violence more than Gandhi. The brutal action of British authorities in suffocating to death about a hundred Moplahs in a Railway freight wagon, less in area than the mythical Black Hole of Calcutta and Gandhi's collecting money to relieve the distress of the victims in Malabar, complete this chapter. It did not spur the revolution on—it retarded the non-cooperation program.

A short while before the 1921 session of Congress, Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect, was arrested, and it was feared that Gandhi might also be arrested. His arrest was over-due. His lieutenants, the Brothers Ali and others were arrested, but the chief "mischief-monger" was let loose, because government dared not lay its iron hands on him, the embodied soul of India. At Ahmedabad he was invested with extraordinary powers, which successful leaders under the circumstances would violently usurp. **Gandhi the sole dictator of India!** His non-violent non-cooperation was once more reaffirmed and the onward march to freedom recommenced along the same path, when on the fateful 10th of March, 1922, Gandhi was arrested. The leader has been snatched away from the people, but his spirit is in their midst. The idol and the ideal of 300 million people has left his work behind—and the nation is supplying new leaders—young, ardent hearts, to take the place of those who have gone on their pilgrimage to the prison-house.

In the prison he is gay, buoyant and cheerful like a school-boy. The prison authorities treat him in some respects in an exceptional manner. They give him his usual diet: fruits, nuts and milk. He is not, however, allowed to get any literature, religious or otherwise. What grieves one most is that he is

made to stand all the time he is in the presence of the jail-warder, even though he is physically unfit to remain standing for any length of time. The law in Bombay not making any distinction between political and non-political prisoners, he is treated as an ordinary felon. Not on a soft couch, but on a plain mattress on hard floor he sleeps. But **to sufferings self-invited one must cheerfully submit—that is Satyagraha.** His imprisonment means the self-direction of their energies by the masses. Perhaps, his imprisonment at this juncture was necessary—without it the chapter of the calvary would have remained unwritten.

The life of this modern Rishi of the East may well be summed up in the immortal words of two Western geniuses, Bernard Shaw and Nietzsche: "This is the true joy in life, the being used for a purpose recognized by yourself as a mighty one; the being thoroughly worn out before you are thrown on the scrap-heap; the being a force of nature instead of a feverish little clod of ailments and grievances, complaining that the world will not devote itself to making you happy." * * * "It is not death that matters, but the fear of death. It is not killing and dying that degrades men, but base living and accepting the wages and profits of degeneration. Better ten dead men than one live slave or . . . his master."—Bernard Shaw.

"Freedom is the will to be responsible for oneself." * * * "I love him whose soul wasteth itself, who neither wanteth thanks nor returneth aught, for he always giveth and seeketh nothing to keep for himself."—Nietzsche.

Gandhi may well say of himself: "Courage consists in the absence of fear—I am glad my soul wasteth itself; I neither want thanks nor return aught. I always give and seek nothing to keep for myself. The highest of social ideals, Service to the Community of Humanity. Self Rule, the highest of ideals in relation to one's individual self. Self-

Rule carries with it the privilege of making errors and the obligation of rectifying them when detected. Moral Force, Truth Force, Soul Force—these the realities!"

A most admirable character in many ways, supremely amiable and adorable, certainly the most astounding phenomenon of modern times, Gandhi shines forth as a man among men by the light of his supreme soul. This beacon-light held forth by India casts its lustrous light on the untrodden paths of humanity. This torch-bearer of non-violence at the supreme spiritual crisis in man's history stands at the parting of ways—one leads to armaments and destruction, the other to disarmament and construction. With his tiny finger, this mystic leader of India is shaking the very foundations of a vast, unjust system of imperialism and militarism from behind the prison bars. When the governments of Europe and America are lavishly expending money on experimenting and developing the deadly engines of human destruction, when the passion for hatred engendered by the war and perpetuated by the Versailles Treaty, is consuming the world, this faint ray of hope coming from the East betokens the dawning of the New Day.

On Gandhi's sincerity one would readily stake one's head. Few would deny to vouch for his integrity. Patriotism for India has become a "passion" with him. But his patriotism is "both exclusive and inclusive." Without seeking deliberately to do harm to others, he is striving to do good to India. "I believe absolutely," says Gandhi, "that India has a mission for the world." "My religion," he cries, "has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself." "Non-violence," he proclaims, "is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed." True to his principle of non-violence, he suspended the Satyagraha campaign of 1919 and postponed the Civil Disobedience program when the slightest signs

of violence—"warnings from God," as he says—became visible. Around this great name posterity will weave cobwebs of fantastic legends—perhaps, also, legends of deification. By some the Mahatma will be regarded as the reincarnation of Christna, Buddha, or Christ; to others he will appeal as a "political" saint; to others again as a "saintly" politician. To the philosopher, however, he will always appeal as an iconoclast of old values. True, he has not supplied new values beyond the vague imaginings of dreamery—that task is left for other intellects to perform. But destruction is an essential condition of a new construction. A spiritual tornado, the Mahatma is intellectually a non-entity. Which explains his failures and his successes. He has soared far beyond the bounds of India and has identified himself with the New Spirit that is seeking to build a New World, the Tabernacle of Humanity. In the perspective of history, it will be said that Gandhi is perhaps the greatest man thrown up by the world upheaval of our times. Wrapped in a "nondescript shawl," the Mahatma reminds one of another kindred spirit, another moral giant, Abraham Lincoln, the liberator of humankind, the beloved of the world. Like Mazzini he has fired the youths of his country with the passion for service. Like Lenin, he has been the stronghold of peace and order in his country—with this difference that whereas the Russian statesman is compelled by circumstances to employ force, Gandhi uses persuasion. The embodied soul of India, in the eyes of his compatriots, he stands as the symbol of all that is highest, best, noblest. Let us pause; let no evil be whispered—Mahatma Gandhi is one of those extraordinary men thrown up from time to time out of the great mass of suffering humanity, whose mission it is to symbolize, to realize and to direct the aspirations of that mass; whose destiny it is to change the face of the world—and probably to die in the doing of it.

Chapter III

THE MAHATMA'S TRIAL

On the 9th of March, 1922, a day before his arrest, Gandhi wrote in his paper, "Young India," under the caption:

"If I Am Arrested—"

"There should be therefore no hartals (a hartal is a general suspension of all activities), no noisy demonstrations, no processions. I would regard the observance of perfect peace on my arrest as a mark of high honor paid to me by my countrymen. What I would love to see, however, is the constructive work of the Congress going on with clockwork regularity and the speed of the Punjab express. I would love to see people who have hitherto kept back, voluntarily discard all their foreign cloth and making a bonfire of it. Let them fulfil the whole of the constructive program framed at Bardoli, and they will not only release me and other prisoners, but they will also inaugurate Swaraj and secure redress of the Khalifat and the Punjab wrongs. Let them remember the four pillars of Swaraj: (1) Non-Violence, (2) Hindu-Muslim-Sikh-Parsi-Christian-Jew unity, (3) total removal of untouchability and (4) manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar completely displacing foreign cloth.

"I do not know that my removal from their midst will not be a benefit to the people. In the first instance, the superstition about the possession of supernatural powers by me will be demolished. Secondly, the belief that people have accepted the

Non-Cooperation Program only under my influence and that they have no independent faith in it will be disproved. Thirdly, our capacity for Swaraj will be proved by our ability to conduct our activities—in spite of the withdrawal even of the originator of the current program. Fourthly and selfishly, it will give me a quiet and physical rest, which, perhaps I deserve."

On the fateful 10th of March, 1922, at 10:30 p. m., motored into the lonesome Satyagrah-Ashram, on the outskirts of Ahmedabad, an automobile, containing a dignified (!) personage, Mr. Hailey, the Superintendent of Police, and Mr. Sankarlal Banker, Gandhi's right-hand man, who was arrested on the way by the custodian of peace and order. The automobile stopped at the entrance of the Ashram; word was sent to Gandhi that a warrant of arrest awaited him. The inmates, who were about to retire, gathered around the Mahatma, paid their obeisance to the Holy Man and asked for his blessing. At long last did happen the expected. Gandhi's favorite hymn describing the qualities of an ideal Vaishnava was joyfully sung in a loud chorus. Touching were the final leave-taking ceremonies. Gandhi's devoted wife and Miss Anasuya Bai, the beloved of India, were allowed to escort the prisoners as far as the Sabarmati jail, one mile away from the Ashram. Mahatmaji's parting words to the inmates were that all who bore patriotism and love for India should strain every nerve to propagate peace and good will all over India among all communities.

The usual restrictions imposed on under-trial prisoners were not strictly enforced in his case. His friends and co-workers were allowed to see him every evening between 3 and 5. Healthy and cheerful he "would talk and laugh with all the unrestrained joy of a school-boy beginning to enjoy his holidays. Palace or prison, freedom or confinement, company or solitude—it is all the same to this noble soul who thinks, acts and lives in the

presence of his Maker. Standing by his side and looking at his hopeful face, we felt that we nearly ceased to be slumbering slaves, that our spirit increased, that our liberty was not far off and that Swaraj was coming quite close." Thus an eye-witness.

Not minding the burning sun of an Ahmedabad afternoon, hosts of pilgrims would go to the prison as unto a holy shrine. Thousands waiting in front of the place of confinement!—the hour of three would strike on their ears not with the dull melancholy of a prison bell, it would stir their hearts with the thrilling joy of a temple Ghanta (bell). Two rooms in the building, "absolutely clean and quiet," separated from the rest of the prison, were set aside one for the Mahatma, the other for Mr. Banker. He happened to be sleeping, quietly enjoying the rest. Now "he woke up, opened his eyes, saw the host of friends and followers around him and with that radiant, toothless smile so familiar to those who have come in contact with him, welcomed us and made us sit down on his Khadi bed. One would have felt that Mahatmaji was entertaining his friends in his own place. There were a few books lying here and there. The inevitable spinning-wheel, his mute companion in freedom and in confinement, was, of course, by his side."

On the 18th of March, 1922, took place in Ahmedabad one of the greatest trials the world ever witnessed. It was a solemn occasion. Troops were posted inside the city and also at the outskirts where the trial was held. Perhaps there was fear of a sudden outbreak of violence, of the gnashing of teeth and the gushing of blood! Perhaps the idol of the people had to be safeguarded! The air was disturbed: now there were hymns sung in chorus, now it was the whispering breath, now it was the suggestive gesture. Pilgrims from far and wide had gathered together. Admission was by passes and

only 200 visitors could get in, among them some of the noblest sons and daughters of India. Outside the court throngs were standing in the scorching sun. It was 5 minutes of 12. There was a stir and a commotion. Spontaneously did the whole court arise to do homage—to whom? He was a criminal and a convict in the eyes of the law: a frail, serene, indomitable figure in a coarse and scanty loin-cloth! It was Mahatma Gandhi, gone there "to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen." Looking around at the hosts of familiar faces of men and women who had traveled far to offer him a token of their love, he remarked, "This is like a family gathering and not a Law Court."

"A thrill of mingled fear, pride, hope and anguish ran through the crowded hall when the judge (Mr. Broomfield) took his seat—an admirable judge deserving of our praise, alike for his brave and resolute sense of duty, his flawless courtesy, his just perception of a unique occasion and his fine tribute to a unique personality.

"The strange trial proceeded and as I listened to the immortal words that flowed with prophetic fervor from the lips of my beloved master, my thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and a different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified, for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realized anew that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth, cradled in a manger, furnished the only true parallel in history to this sweet, invincible apostle of Indian liberty who has loved humanity with surpassing compassion and, to use his own beautiful phrase, 'approached the poor with the mind of the poor'." Thus Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the sweet-singing nightingale of India.

Preliminary Enquiry Before the Magistrate

On Saturday, the 11th, at noon, Gandhi and Banker were placed before Mr. Brown, Assistant Magistrate, the Court being held in the Divisional Commissioner's Office at Sahibag. The prosecution was conducted by Rao Bahadur Girdharilal, Public Prosecutor.

The Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad, first witness, produced the Bombay Government's authority to lodge a complaint for four articles published in "Young India," dated June 15th, 1921, entitled "Disaffection a Virtue"; dated the 29th of September, "Tampering with Loyalty"; dated the 15th of December, "The Puzzle and Its Solution"; dated the 23rd of February, 1922, "Shaking the Manes." He stated that the warrant was issued on the 6th instant by the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, and the case was transferred to the file of Mr. Brown. Meanwhile, warrants were also issued to the Superintendents of Police of Surat and Ajmere as Mr. Gandhi was expected to be at those places. The original signed articles and issues of the paper in which these appeared were also produced as evidence.

Mr. Gharda, Registrar, Appellate Side, Bombay High Court, second witness, produced correspondence between Mr. Gandhi as the Editor of "Young India" and Mr. Kennedy, District Judge, Ahmedabad. Mr. Chatfield, Magistrate of Ahmedabad, was the next witness. He testified to the security deposited by Mr. Gandhi and the declaration of Mr. S. Banker as printer of "Young India."

Two formal police witnesses were then produced.

Accused declined to cross-examine the witnesses.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, 53, farmer and weaver by profession, residing at Satyagraha Asram, Sabarmati, said:

"I simply wish to state that, when the proper time comes, I shall plead guilty so far as disaffec-

tion towards Government is concerned. It is quite true that I am the Editor of "Young India" and that the articles read in my presence were written by me and the proprietors and publishers had permitted me to control the whole policy of the paper."

Mr. Shankarlal Banker, landed proprietor, Bombay, second accused, stated that at the proper time he would plead guilty to the charge of having published the articles complained of. Charges were framed on three counts under Section 124-A; accused were committed to the Sessions.

Mr. Gandhi asked his associates present in the Court to carry on the publication of his papers: "Young India" (English) and "Nav Jivan," i. e., "New Life" (Gujrati).

The Great Trial

The trial opened at 12 noon on Saturday, the 18th of March, 1922. Hon. Sir J. T. Strangman, Advocate-General, Bombay, assisted by A. C. Wild, Esq., Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Bombay, and Rao Bahadur Girdarilal, Public Prosecutor, conducted the prosecution.

The accused were undefended.

The Registrar of the Court read out the charges under S. 124-A, I. P. C., against Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Sankarlal Banker, and also the three articles—"TAMPERING WITH LOYALTY," "THE PUZZLE AND ITS SOLUTION," and "SHAKING THE MANES"—published in the "Young India" on the 29th of September, 1921; 15th of December, 1921, and 23rd of February, 1922, respectively.

Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code runs thus:

Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law

in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years—to which fine may be added, or without fine.

Explanation I. The expression disaffection includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation II. Comments expressing disaffection of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offense under this section.

Explanation III. Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not constitute an offense under this section.

The Judge said that the law required that the charges should not only be read out but explained. In this case it would not be necessary for him to say much by way of explanation. The charge in each case was that of bringing or attempting to bring into hatred or contempt or exciting or attempting to excite disaffection towards His Majesty's Government established by law in British India. Both the accused were charged with the three offenses under section 124-A contained in the articles read out written by Mr. Gandhi and printed by Mr. Banker. The words hatred and contempt were words, the meaning of which was sufficiently obvious. The word disaffection was defined under the section and they were told that disaffection included disloyalty and all feelings of enmity and the word used in the section had also been interpreted by the High Court of Bombay in a reported case as meaning political alienation or discontent, a spirit of disloyalty to Government or existing authority.

The charges having been read out, the Judge called upon the accused to plead to the charge. He asked Mahatma Gandhi whether he pleaded guilty or claimed to be tried.

Mahatma Gandhi: I plead guilty to all the charges. I observe that the King's name has been omitted from the charges and it has been properly omitted.

The Judge: Mr. Banker, do you plead guilty or do you claim to be tried?

Mr. Banker: I plead guilty.

Advocate-General Urges Trial

Sir J. T. Strangman said that under section 271, Criminal Procedure Code, it was open to the Judge to convict the accused on their pleas or to proceed with the trial. The section says: "If the accused pleads guilty, the plea shall be recorded, and he may be convicted thereon." The words were "may," not "must." He asked His Honor to proceed with the trial. In the first instance the charges were of a serious character and in the second place it was highly desirable in the public interest that those charges should be fully and thoroughly investigated. He did not think it was necessary to labor further. From a further and narrower point of view that was in regard to the sentence it was obvious that the Judge could not adequately deal with the accused unless he had the full facts of the case before him. That was the view taken by the Bombay High Court (19 Bombay Law Reports, Page 356). That was an extreme case. (The Advocate-General then read out the case to the Court and it was in regard to a murder charge in which the accused was sentenced to be hanged.) Those remarks applied to the case, said Sir J. Strangman, and he again quoted 23 Madras 151. It would be impossible to deal with the matter satisfactorily and also other matters which he would ask the Judge to take into account. On that ground also he would ask the Court to proceed with the trial.

Court's Reply

The Court said it could not agree with what had been said. The judge had full discretion to convict on the plea if he thought it proper to do so, and in this particular case nothing would be gained by going once more into the evidence recorded by the committing Magistrate. As regards the question of the charges, they would be fully investigated and as far as he was aware nothing more was needed to establish the offense going to show that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for those particular articles. In the face of the plea it seemed to him that it would be futile to raise the point.

As regards the question of sentence, it went without saying that from the time he knew that he was going to try the case he had tried to consider the sentence and he was prepared to hear anything that the counsel might have to say or Mr. Gandhi wished to say on the sentence. He honestly did not believe that the mere recording of evidence in the trial which counsel has asked for would make a difference to them one way or the other. He, therefore, proposed to accept the plea.

Mahatma Gandhi smiled at this decision.

The Judge said nothing further. It remained for him, no doubt, to pass the sentence, and before doing so he wished to hear Sir J. Strangman, who was entitled to base his general remarks on the charges against the accused and on their pleas.

Advocate-General's Arguments

Sir J. Strangman: It will be difficult to do so. I asked the court that the whole matter may be properly considered. If I stated what has happened before the committing Magistrate, then I can show that there are many things which are material to the question of the sentence.

The first point, he said, he wanted to make out was that the matter which formed the subject of the

present charges formed part of the campaign to spread disaffection openly and systematically, to render Government impossible and to overthrow it. The earliest article that was put in from "Young India" was dated the 25th of May, 1921, which said that it was the duty of a non-cooperator to create disaffection towards the Government. Counsel then read out portions of articles written by Mr. Gandhi in "Young India."

Court said nevertheless it seemed to it that the court could accept a plea on the materials on which the sentence had to be based.

Sir J. Strangman said the question of sentence was entirely for the court to decide. The court was always entitled to deal in a more general manner in regard to the question of the sentence than the particular matter resulting in the conviction. He asked leave to refer to articles before the court and what result might have been produced if the trial had proceeded, in order to ascertain what the facts were. He was not going into any matter which involved a dispute.

The Judge said there was not the least objection to his going into the charges in a general way.

Sir J. Strangman said he wanted to show that these articles were not isolated. They formed part of an organized campaign, but so far as "Young India" was concerned they would show that from the year 1921. Counsel then read out an extract from the paper, dated June 8, on the duty of a non-cooperator which was to preach disaffection towards the existing Government for preparing the country for civil disobedience. Then in the same number there was an article on "Disaffection, a Virtue"—or something to that effect. Then there was an article on the 28th of July, 1921, in which it was stated that "we have to destroy the system." Again, on September 30, 1921, there was an article headed "Punjab Prosecutions," where it was stated that a

non-cooperator worthy of his name should preach disaffection. That was all so far as "Young India" was concerned. They were earlier in date than the article "Tampering with Loyalty" and the matter was referred to the Governor of Bombay. Continuing, he said, the accused was a man of high educational qualifications, and evidently from his writings a recognized leader. The harm that was likely to be caused was considerable. They were the writings of an educated man and not the writings of an obscure man and the court must consider to what the results of a campaign of the nature disclosed in the writings must inevitably lead. They had examples before them in the last few months. He referred to the occurrences in Bombay last November and Chauri-Chaura leading to murder and destruction of property, involving many people in misery and misfortune. It was true that in the course of those articles they would find non-violence was insisted upon as an item of the campaign and as an item of the creed. But what was the use of preaching non-violence when he preached disaffection towards Government or openly instigated others to overthrow it? The answer to that question appeared to him to come from Chauri-Chaura, Madras and Bombay. These were circumstances which he asked the court to take into account in sentencing the accused, and it would be for the court to consider those circumstances which must involve sentences of severity.

As regards the second accused, his offense was less. He did the publication and he did not write. His offense nevertheless was a serious one. His instructions were that he was a man of means and he asked the court to impose a substantial fine in addition to such term of imprisonment as might be inflicted upon him. He quoted section 10 of the Press Act as bearing on the question of fine. When making a declaration, he said, a deposit of Rs. 1,000 to 10,000 was asked in many cases.

Court: Mr. Gandhi, do you wish to make a statement on the question of sentence?

Mahatma Gandhi: I would like to make a statement.

Court: Could you give it to me in writing to put it on record?

Mahatma Gandhi: I shall give it as soon as I finish reading it.

Mahatma Gandhi's Statement

Before reading his written statement, Mahatma Gandhi spoke a few words as introductory remarks to the whole statement.

He said: "Before I read this statement, I would like to state that I entirely endorse the learned Advocate-General's remarks in connection with my humble self. I think that he was entirely fair to me in all the statements that he has made, because it is very true and I have no desire whatsoever to conceal from the Court the fact that to preach disaffection towards the existing system of Government has become almost a passion with me. And the learned Advocate-General is also entirely in the right when he says that my preaching of disaffection did not commence with my connection with 'Young India,' but that it commenced much earlier, and in the statement I am about to read it will be my painful duty to admit before this Court that it commenced much earlier than the period stated by the Advocate-General. It is the most painful duty with me, but I have to discharge that duty knowing the responsibility that rests upon my shoulders.

"And I wish to endorse all the blame that the Advocate-General has thrown on my shoulders in connection with the Bombay occurrence, Madras occurrences, and the Chouri-Choura occurrences; thinking over these things deeply, and sleeping over them night after night and examining my heart, I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible for

me to dissociate myself from the diabolical crimes of Chouri-Choura or the mad outrages of Bombay. He is quite right when he says that as a man of responsibility, a man having received a fair share of education, having had a fair share of experience of this world, I should have known the consequences of every one of my acts. I knew them. **I knew that I was playing with fire. I ran the risk and if I was set free I would still do the same. I would be failing in my duty if I do not do so. I have felt it this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say all that I said here just now.**

"I wanted to avoid violence. I want to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. But I had to make my choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered has done an irreparable harm to my country or incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips. I know that my people have sometimes gone mad. I am deeply sorry for it; and **I am, therefore, here to submit not to a light penalty but to the highest penalty. I do not ask for mercy. I do not plead any extenuating act. I am here, therefore, to invite and cheerfully submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.** The only course open to you, Mr. Judge, is, as I am going to say in my statement, either to resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people. I do not expect that kind of conversion. But by the time I have finished my statement you will, perhaps, have a glimpse of what is raging within my breast to run this maddest risk which a sane man can run."

Mr. Banker's Statement

Mr. Shankarlal Banker made the following statement:

"I only want to say that I had the privilege of printing these articles and I plead guilty to the charge. I have got nothing to say as regards the sentence."

Gandhi's Written Statement

"I owe it perhaps to the Indian public and to the public in England to placate which this prosecution is mainly taken up that I should explain why from a staunch loyalist and cooperator I have become an uncompromising disaffectionist and non-cooperator. To the court, too, I should say why I plead guilty to the charge of promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law in India.

"My public life began in 1893 in South Africa in troubled weather. My first contact with British authority in that country was not of a happy character. I discovered that as a man and an Indian I had no rights. More correctly I discovered that I had no rights as a man because I was an Indian.

"But I was not baffled. I thought that this treatment of Indians was an excrescence upon a system that was intrinsically and mainly good. I gave the Government my voluntary and hearty cooperation, criticizing it fully where I felt it was faulty but never wishing its destruction.

"Consequently, when the existence of the Empire was threatened in 1899 by the Boer challenge, I offered my services to it, raised a volunteer ambulance corps and served at several actions that took place for the relief of Ladysmith. Similarly in 1906 at the time of the Zulu revolt I raised a stretcher-bearer party and served till the end of the 'rebellion.' On both these occasions I received medals and was even mentioned in despatches. For my work in South Africa I was given by Lord Hardinge a Kaiser-i-Hind

Gold Medal. When the war broke out in 1914 between England and Germany, I raised a volunteer ambulance corps in London, consisting of the then resident Indians in London, chiefly students. Its work was acknowledged by the authorities to be valuable. Lastly, in India when a special appeal was made at the War Conference in Delhi in 1918 by Lord Chelmsford for recruits, I struggled, at the cost of my health, to raise a corps in Kheda and the response was being made when the hostilities ceased and orders were received that no more recruits were wanted. In all these efforts at service I was actuated by the belief that it was possible by such services to gain a status of full equality in the Empire for my countrymen.

"The first shock came in the shape of the Rowlatt Act, a law designed to rob the people of all real freedom. I felt called upon to lead an intensive agitation against it. Then followed the Punjab horrors beginning with the massacre at Jallianwala Bagh and culminating in crawling orders, public floggings and other indescribable humiliations. I discovered, too, that the plighted word of the Prime Minister to the Mussalmans of India regarding the integrity of Turkey and the holy places of Islam was not likely to be fulfilled. But in spite of the foreboding and the grave warnings of friends, at the Amritsar Congress in 1919 I fought for co-operation and working the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, hoping that the Prime Minister would redeem his promise to the Indian Mussalmans, that the Punjab wound would be healed and that the reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory though they were, marked a new era of hope in the life of India.

"But all that hope was shattered. The Khilafat promise was not to be redeemed. The Punjab crime was white-washed and most culprits went not only unpunished but remained in service and some continued to draw pensions from the Indian revenue,

and in some cases were even rewarded. I saw too that not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart, but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging her servitude.

"I came reluctantly to the conclusion that the British connection had made India more helpless than she ever was before, politically and economically. A disarmed India has no power of resistance against any aggressor if she wanted to engage in an armed conflict with him. So much is this the case that some of our best men consider that India must take generations before she can achieve the Dominion status. She has become so poor that she has little power of resisting famines. Before the British advent India spun and wove in her millions of cottages just the supplement she needed for adding to her meagre agricultural resources. The cottage industry, so vital for India's existence, has been ruined by incredibly heartless and inhuman processes as described by English witnesses. Little do town-dwellers know how the semi-starved masses of Indians are slowly sinking to lifelessness. Little do they know that their miserable comfort represents the brokerage they get for the work they do for the foreign exploiter, that the profits and the brokerage are sucked from the masses. Little do they realize that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no jugglery in figures can explain away the evidence the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye. I have no doubt whatsoever that both England and the town-dwellers of India will have to answer, if there is a God above, for this crime against humanity which is perhaps unequalled in history. The law itself in this country has been used to serve the foreign exploiter. My unbiased examination of the Punjab Martial Law cases has led me to believe that at least ninety-five per cent of convictions were wholly bad. My experience of

political cases in India leads me to the conclusion that in nine out of every ten the condemned men were totally innocent. Their crime consisted in love of their country. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred justice has been denied to Indians as against Europeans in the courts of India. This is not an exaggerated picture. It is the experience of almost every Indian who has had anything to do with such cases. In my opinion the administration of the law is thus prostituted consciously or unconsciously for the benefit of the exploiter.

"The greatest misfortune is that Englishmen and their Indian associates in the administration of the country do not know that they are engaged in the crime I have attempted to describe. I am satisfied that many English and Indian officials honestly believe that they are administering one of the best systems devised in the world and that India is making steady though slow progress. They do not know that a subtle but effective system of terrorism and an organized display of force on the one hand and the deprivation of all powers of retaliation or self-defense on the other have emasculated the people and induced in them the habit of simulation. This awful habit has added to the ignorance and self-deception of the administrators. Section 124-A under which I am happily charged is perhaps the prince among the political sections of the Indian Penal Code designed to suppress the liberty of the citizen. Affection cannot be manufactured or regulated by law. If one has no affection for a person or thing one should be free to give the fullest expression to his disaffection so long as he does not contemplate, promote or incite to violence. But the section under which Mr. Banker and I are charged is one under which mere promotion of disaffection is a crime. I have studied some of the cases tried under it, and I know that some of the most loved of India's patriots have been convicted under it. I consider it a privi-

lege therefore, to be charged under it. I have endeavored to give in their briefest outline the reasons for my disaffection. I have no personal ill-will against any single administrator, much less can I have any disaffection towards the King's person. But I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she ever was before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system. And it has been a precious privilege for me to be able to write what I have in the various articles tendered in evidence against me.

"In fact I believe that I have rendered a service to India and England by showing in non-co-operation the way out of the unnatural state in which both are living. In my humble opinion, non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as is co-operation with good. But in the past, non-co-operation has been deliberately expressed in violence to the evil-doer. I am endeavoring to show to my countrymen that violent non-co-operation only multiplies evil and that as evil can only be sustained by violence, withdrawal of support of evil requires complete abstention from violence. Non-violence implies voluntary submission to the penalty for non-co-operation with evil. I am here, therefore, to invite and submit cheerfully to the highest penalty that can be inflicted upon me for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge and the Assessors, is either to resign your posts and thus dissociate yourselves from evil if you feel that the law you are called upon to administer is an evil and that in reality I am innocent, or to inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and the law you are assisting to administer are good for the

people of this country and that my activity is therefore injurious to the public weal."

M. K. GANDHI.

The Judgment

The following is the full text of the judgment: "Mr. Gandhi, you have made my task easy in one way by pleading guilty to the charge. Nevertheless, what remains, namely, the determination of a just sentence is perhaps as difficult a proposition as a judge in this country could have to face. The law is no respector of persons. Nevertheless, it will be impossible to ignore the fact that you are in a different category from any person I have ever tried or am likely to have to try. It would be impossible to ignore the fact that in the eyes of millions of your countrymen you are a great patriot and a great leader. Even those who differ from you in politics look upon you as a man of high ideals and of noble and of even saintly life. I have to deal with you in one character only. It is not my duty and I do not presume to judge or criticise you in any other character. It is my duty to judge you as a man subject to the law, who has by his own admission broken the law and committed, what to an ordinary man must appear to be, grave offenses against the State. I do not forget that you have consistently preached against violence and that you have on many occasions, as I am willing to believe, done much to prevent violence. But having regard to the nature of your political teaching and the nature of many of those to whom it was addressed, how you could have continued to believe that violence would not be the inevitable consequence, it passes my capacity to understand. There are probably few people in India who do not sincerely regret that you should have made it impossible for any Government to leave you at liberty. But it is so. I am trying to balance what is due to you against what appears to me to be

necessary in the interest of the public, and I propose in passing sentence to follow the precedent of a case in many respects similar to this case that was decided some twelve years ago. I mean the case against Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak under the same section. The sentence that was passed upon him as it finally stood was a sentence of simple imprisonment for six years. You will not consider it unreasonable, I think, that you should be classed with Mr. Tilak. That is a sentence of two years' simple imprisonment on each count of the charge, six years in all which I feel it my duty to pass upon you; and I should like to say in doing so that if the course of events in India should make it possible for the Government to reduce the period and release you, no one will be better pleased than I."

The Judge, then, addressing Mr. Banker, said:

"I assume you have been to a large extent under the influence of your chief. The sentence that I propose to pass upon you is simple imprisonment for six months on each of the first two counts, that is to say, simple imprisonment for one year, and a fine of a thousand rupees on the third count with a six months' simple imprisonment in default."

Mahatma Gandhi's Reply

Mahatma Gandhi said: "I would say one word since you have done me the honour of recalling the trial of the late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. I just want to say that I consider it to be the proudest privilege and honour to be associated with his name. So far as the sentence itself is concerned I certainly consider that it is as light as any judge would inflict on me, and so far as the whole proceedings are concerned I must say that I could not have expected greater courtesy."

Chapter IV

INDIA OF TODAY

There is a tidal wave sweeping over the East. The spirit of Democracy is abroad and the people are wide awake. In the general awakening of the East, India's is the leading part. India is today the center of world attention, and the personality holding humanity spell-bound is Mahatma Gandhi.

Somehow or other, the Indians' claim still remains true: that the Western mind is incapable of understanding the East, particularly the deep spiritual significance of Mahatma Gandhi's movement, which is designed to revolutionize revolution. "It is my modesty," says Gandhi, "that restrains me from preaching the gospel (of this particular method of revolution) to the people of the world. First let it bear fruit in the land of its inception, then shall I proclaim it to the entire world." Of this unprecedented revolution, Non-Cooperation is the framework, and **Ahimsa** the soul. In its negative aspect, Ahimsa means Non-Violence; in its positive form it means Love. There is room neither for hatred nor animosity in the program; indeed the revolution is raised beyond the pale of hate and transported into the transcendental realm of Love. Such is Gandhi's attitude; to attain that end is the cherished desire of the teeming millions of India, poverty-stricken and enhungered as they are! The poisonous sting of the Black Cobra Bills no doubt did produce bitter hue and cry in some quarters, but peace-loving Gandhi is the most restraining, pacifying factor in

the life of the Indian nation. Into the domain of politics—where usually diplomacy, duplicity and fraud are rampant—the latent spiritual forces of a nation are brought into play, full and unfettered, for the first time since history began!

On the historic First Day of August, 1920, died the "Uncrowned Prince" of India, Bal Gangadhar Tilak—the beloved of the people was no more! But the people found it hard to believe that he was not in their midst. The spirit of the departed leader has been an inspiration to millions in India. Gandhi whose influence was already recognized all over India now became the undisputed Leader of the Indian Nationalist Party—the best and truest representative of his race. An earnest ambassador of Hindu-Mohammedan Unity, Gandhi cemented the friendly relations between the two communities. This Hindu-Moslem entente became a permanent factor after the blood of both the communities was spilt at Jalliawallah Bagh in April 1919 by General Dyer. The Hindu-Moslem unity, it may be safely asserted, is quite reliable, solid and permanent. The differences between Hindus and Mohammedans are being emphasized—as they have been in the past—only by foreigners, particularly by Westerners and Christians at that! The Mogul Emperor Akber, Mohammedan by faith, is the most beloved by the Hindus as by the Mohammedans: he takes his place in the hearts of the people almost with the Hindu Emperor Asoka. The Mohammedans no doubt are a little too turbulent—and the Hindus are a little too docile. But the two races are assimilating the best of each other. The great point about Hinduism is its capability to absorb the best elements of every religion, culture and civilization; even now there is in India a sublimer Christianity in the making than elsewhere in the world! This then is a solid fact that the Hindus and Mohammedans are one, and

that the blood spilt at Delhi and Jallianwalah Bagh (Armitsar) has cemented the two races.

No lover of truth, however deep his affection for India, would venture to suggest that the condition of their womenfolk is ideal. To say the least, the lot of the Indian women—as of the "untouchables," the "pariahs"—is most pathetic and appalling. To ameliorate their condition, to lift them up on a higher plane—this has been the attempt of Gandhi. Time and again, he has deplored the sad neglect of India's womanhood and its need for education. He has been very insistent on the removal of child-marriages and on the proper provision of education for girls. As for boys' education, he strongly recommends the imparting of industrial and technical training along with intellectual and strictly literary pursuits. As for the "depressed classes"—the term is applied to the unfortunate pariah community—he says in so many words that so long as we do not give freedom to the "untouchables," so long as we not treat them as our equals, so long have we no right to demand liberty and freedom for ourselves from others. "Most religious men I have met," says Gandhi, "are politicians in disguise; I, however, who wear the guise of a politician am at heart a religious man." He is deeply grieved that modern civilization, with its worship of brute force, its mighty engines of destruction and its dynamic violence of locomotion, should spread its tentacles all over India; that the country should incline toward irreligion is the saddest thought to him. Gandhi's religion of Ahimsa (Love in its positive aspect) requires that he must work for the uplift of the oppressed and the down-trodden. His movement is especially designed for the purification of soul and the discipline of body: not so much a revolt against British rule as against the degenerate elements of Hindu Society. But, argues Gandhi, as the sins of society are bound to be perpetuated by the degrading imposition of alien

rule, he must first "mend or end" the system of which they are heartily sick.

The awakening among Indian women is the most significant success of the movement. The mother of the Brothers Ali has torn off her veil. Women, rich and poor, Hindu and Muslim, Parsi and Christian, are all enthusiastically taking an active part in the nation's struggle for freedom. Indeed the real Indian nation was born in South Africa, where Gandhi led the Passive Resistance struggle for two decades (1894-1914). The glorious tradition of that heroic achievement is a great incentive to India today. There in South Africa, during 1913-14 when Indian marriages were not considered valid in courts, the valiant women passive resisters, along with their menfolk, organized the "wonderful march" from Natal to the prohibited borders of the Transvaal, exhorting the indentured laborers to quit work and join the "army." The famous, peaceful "invasion" of the Transvaal by 3,000 Indians—men, women and children—is an epic in itself. The "London Times" declared that "it must live in memory as one of the most remarkable manifestations in history of the Spirit of Passive Resistance." That grand spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the Motherhood today animates the womanhood of Young India. Bracelets and anklets, tossed in the air at the feet of Mahatma Gandhi, by matrons and brides alike; pearl necklaces and gold necklaces showered upon the table in front of the Holy Man; the conscientious betaking themselves to the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom at the bidding of the "Quixotic" economist; the peaceful stimulation of home industries and boycott of foreign goods; the unobtrusive manner in which they sell the home-spun hand-woven Khadi in the street and their getting arrested as a reward by the agents of the alien government—this silent revolution is the true revolution of India. Boycott of Councils, of Law Courts, of Government schools and colleges;

surrender of titles, honors, etc.; instituting national schools and colleges; organizing Panchayets*; these are the technics of the program over the success of which politicians and statisticans may well wrangle. The technical part of the Non-Cooperation Program is no doubt being worked out a little "lazily." But let us not forget that India has been emasculated by the exactions of alien rule. Submission to foreign domination for over a century and a half had bred into the people cowardice, sluggishness, self-distrust and loss of self-respect. From that abysmal depth to raise the nation to a sense of fearlessness and self-respect is indeed a miracle. That miracle Gandhi has achieved. Time was when the virility of Indian manhood was not. Time was when the self-respect and self-expression of the Indian womanhood was not. But **now things are changed.** The "Sahib" is no more an object of terror. The moral prestige of the government is in the dust. Brute force may hold the people in subjection for a time; but the erstwhile cherished desire that the connection between England and India was "providential," is frustrated. Together India and England would teach an object-lesson to humanity: so did the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji think; so did Gokhale, Gandhi's political guru (teacher) think. But that no longer is believed to be possible. England and India must be cut loose; if they are to be together, the connection shall not be forced on India, but shall be wholly and solely by the consent of the people of India. Gandhi's timely leadership has been a tremendous moral gain to the Indian community. Such in barest outline is the revolution of India.

Lord Chelmsford, the late Viceroy of India, may fairly be accused of treating Gravity with levity, when, according to the principles of gravitation, he alleged that the Non-Cooperation movement would "collapse by weight of its own intrinsic inanity."

*Panchayet is an ancient Indian republican institution; means "Council of Five."—H. M.

It is the most dynamic thing, this non-violent non-cooperation of India. The real revolution is not the technic but the spirit; and as shown above, the New Spirit is upon the people. The program may be abandoned, but the revolution whose torch has been lit will never die. A great deal of speculation is being indulged in as to the probable course of events in India. Will it develop—or rather degenerate—into violence, or will it retain its non-violent character? To my mind, India's success in the struggle for freedom **depends entirely upon Non-Violence being preserved against all provocations, under all circumstances, at all times.** Should she turn to violence, she would undoubtedly play into the hands of England. There is in India a small school of revolutionaries who believe in the efficacy of brute force against England. I do not minimize the importance of this handful, for it is always the handful that lead big movements; but even the most honest-intentioned votary of brute force will find it very difficult to persuade the masses of the superiority of the "alien remedy." Passive Resistance is ingrained in the people; it is native to the soil, whereas armed resistance is exotic. Should Gandhi be arrested tomorrow,* those that today stand for violence, will, out of sheer regard for the man and his wishes, refrain from so much as whispering a breath in favor of violence. The alternative to non-violence is not violence but "inanity"; this is quite clear to the Indian mind. Therefore, their attempt is not to develop a militant attitude of violence but rather to transmute anger and militancy into constructive energy and good will.

Peasantry constitutes eighty-five per cent of the population of India. Their will is the nation's will. It is these masses that rule in India today. The dictates of the "unlettered"—and therefore unsophis-

*This was written on February 25, 1922, when the New York "World" was running the brilliant series of ten articles by Mr. Charles Merz.

ticated—peasantry have to be obeyed by the leaders. Those that preach violence are being discountenanced. A gulf there was between the illiterate masses and the English-educated classes. It was a most lamentable fact. But great leaders like Tilak and Gandhi have always stood as spokesmen for the mute multitude. Gandhi would administer severe rebukes to the intelligentsia for their indifference toward backward classes. The evil he would exterminate from the very root. What caused this gulf between the English-educated and the unlettered?—Why is the percentage of illiteracy in India today higher than what it was before the advent of the English? The one answer to these questions is: the newfangled English educational system imposed upon the Indians. Precious years of the nation's life are wasted because the young men have to receive their higher education through the medium of English. And the cost of education being heavy the peasants cannot afford to send their children to school. Over fifty per cent of the people's money goes for military expenditure, whereas only six per cent goes for education! Last year there was a deficit in the budget. So is it this year!

Why should not the educated classes tell these things to the village folks in their own tongue? Surely, the first condition of success is **Understanding** and **Unity.** To Gandhi's credit stands the achievement of having bridged the gulf between the English-educated and the peasantry. This is the corner-stone of today's revolution and the will of the erstwhile stifled masses is the will of the nation.

People who were yearning for Self-Determination were presented with the shackling irons of the Rowlatt Bills (1919). These "Black Cobra Acts" and the Amritsar massacre are responsible for the present situation in India. "Insofar as a single Indian was made to crawl on his belly in the streets of Armitsar, insofar was the entire manhood of

India made to crawl on its belly. Insofar as a single Indian woman was forced to unveil herself, insofar was the entire womanhood of India outraged. Insofar as isolated instances occurred of people having been fired upon without provocation, insofar was the whole of India fired upon without provocation." So intense was the feeling in India. But however indignant righteous people might have felt, that shock, like the shock of 1857, would have passed away, had it not been for the delicate nature of the Khilafat claim, which now began to make headway.

The Khalifa or the Caliph is the spiritual head and the central authority that is entrusted with the duty of defending Islam or Mohammedanism. He is the successor of the Prophet Mohammed and the agent of Allah (God) on earth. According to Islamic tradition he must possess sufficient temporal power to defend Islam against non-Islamic powers and he should be one elected or accepted by the Mohammedan world.

The **Jazirat-ul-Arab** is the area bounded by the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf and the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is the sacred home of Islam, containing the Holy places and the center toward which the Islamic world turns in prayer. According to the injunctions of their Faith, this entire area should always be under Muslim control, i. e., under the suzerainty of the Khalifa. If the Khilafat is jeopardized, if the Khalifa is denuded of his temporal powers, the "believer" is enjoined to redeem the wrong at the cost of everything, even life itself!

According to the Treaty of Sevres imposed upon the nominal government at Constantinople, the Khalifa is a prisoner in his own city. The Jazirat-ul-Arab has been torn away from the head of the Muslim world. Rather lose life than be faithless to religion—such is the attitude of the Mohammedan.

Gandhi, a devout orthorox Hindu, was willing to godfather the cause of his Mohammedan brethren in their hour of peril. Wherever religious issues are at stake, Gandhi is sure to be. The Khilafat was a religious question with the Mohammedans, so he needs must help them. Indeed as early as 1918, during the progress of the war, he intimated to Lord Chelmsford, the then Governor-General of India, that scrupulous regard be had to the sentiments of the Indian Mohammedans in regard to the Holy places and that **Khilafat be kept intact as promised by His Excellency, by Asquith and by Lloyd George.** For his championing the cause of the Mohammedans, Gandhi soon began to be looked upon as the "Wali" or Guardian of Islam, and under his direction was duly launched the now famous Non-Cooperation Program on the historic First of August, 1920. The Mohammedans having decided to boycott the Reformed Councils, the remaining two-thirds of the nation had to decide what it was to do. Hence in September was called in extra-ordinary session the Indian National Congress, the unofficial Parliament of India, with Lajpat Rai as its President. In the heat of the discussion, amidst cheers and jeers, Gandhi's Resolution of Non-Violent Non-Cooperation was carried. The creed of Non-Violence and Non-Cooperation was enthusiastically affirmed at Nagpur by the Congress in December, 1920, and it was reaffirmed in December, 1921, at the Ahmedabad Session, when Gandhi was made sole Dictator

To conclude: Efforts are being made to purge society of its many ills. Primarily a movement of purification and constructive good-will, the national struggle is destructive of the rotten elements of present day society. The curse of untouchability, a black stigma on Hinduism, is being got rid of; that means that one-fifth of Indian humanity, who were formerly treated as a distinct species apart,

not fit to be touched, will be brought to the fold of decent, respectable humanity. The government monopoly of opium and liquor traffic is being combatted. Women are no more to be the toys of man, but will be allowed full opportunities for self-development and self-expression. · Non-Cooperation is the soul of India in transition. It is not perfunctory as some Western journalists think. It is an intensely active program in spite of its negative terminology. Non-Cooperation embraces both the rejection of evil and the acceptance of good. Rejection of evil is in fact a necessary prelude to acceptance of good. People are rejecting, boycotting government institutions and they are accepting, constructing national institutions. Parents withdraw their children from government schools and colleges; popular organizations are setting up national schools and colleges. Lawyers, suitors and defenders, all boycott government law courts; people's arbitration courts are springing up everywhere. Surrender of titles, honors, etc., and boycott of British goods, coupled with the manufacture of home-spun clothes, make up the first stage of the program. It is significant of the success of the movement that the national flag of India bears the emblem of the Spinning-Wheel. Resignation from government service, either civil or military, is another stage. Individual and mass civil disobedience of government laws, refusal to pay taxes on the principle of **no taxation without representation,** complete the program. The ancient Republican institution of Panchayet (Council of Five) destroyed by the British, is being revived in every village. The work is just begun. But the moment an All-India Panchayet Congress joins hands with the All-India Trades Unions Congress, that very moment may we expect the fall of the colossus of British Empire. "All Power to the Panchayets" is the new formula—like "All Power to the Soviets" in Russia. The powers of the executive, the legislature, the judiciary and the police are all vested in the Panchayet; hence

its birth spells not merely the paralysis of British power in India, but the very destruction of British Raj.

This Program, I repeat, is constructive of good will and based on cooperation. Its shortcomings, if any, are due to the fact that it is a program of transition. Its superb virtue is that it does not fan racial hatred or nationalistic antagonism. To quote Gandhi: "This is a terribly true struggle. It is a struggle which is based on love, pure and undefiled. If I felt any hate toward Englishmen, or those who in their blindness are associated with the blind administrators, I would have the courage to retire from the struggle. . . . This struggle therefore is intended to make friends with Englishmen and the whole world."

Chapter V

GAINS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

"I do not like the term 'Passive Resistance'; it fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method, but gives no hint of the system of which it is only a part. Real beauty, and that is my aim, is in doing good against evil. Still, I adopt the phrase because it is well-known, and easily understood, and because, at present, the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea. To me, the ideas which underlie the Gujrati hymn and the Sermon on the Mount, should revolutionize the whole of life."—Gandhi.

Now that Mahatma Gandhi has been arrested, and no "revolution" has taken place people are becoming skeptical of India's achieving freedom in the near future. Those that expected an outbreak of violence after Gandhi's arrest, have been disillusioned. And this is as it ought to be. To assure the world of the gains of the Struggle, I shall summarize them so far as possible, following Gandhi's method of analysis of the South African struggle:—

That thereby the Indian community could preserve its national self-respect; according to our proverb, one who can preserve one's self-respect, can preserve everything else.

That thereby the whole of India, particularly the politically indifferent and inert peasantry, became acquainted with the deep-seated disease of alien domination and Imperialism; it is as amazing as it

is humiliating that less than one hundred thousand Englishmen should be able to rule three hundred and thirty million Indians.

That through it other nations became acquainted with our grievances and began to appreciate us better.

That the struggle forced the government in the short period of three years to render null and void, actually and technically, the much hated Rowlatt Acts of 1919, better known as the Black Cobra Acts. The Rowlatt Acts, it is a matter of common knowledge, were the first of a series of iniquitous legislation intended to be enacted; but all that was frustrated and the honor of the community was saved.

That it inspired the rarest kind of literature and utterances in America and elsewhere, on the spiritual significance of Non-Violence and Non-Resistance, i. e., on Satyagraha: notable among these are the two famous sermons on "Who is the Greatest Man in the World Today?" and "The World Significance of Mahatma Gandhi," by John Haynes Holmes, Minister of the Community Church, New York City.

That it has created in millions of Americans and Europeans feelings of sympathy with and regard for the Indians.

That thereby the Indian community has gained prestige: India and Gandhi figure on the first pages of newspapers and magazines; uninformed people or people poisoned by propaganda on the other side, who before the struggle used to treat Indians with apathy or with contempt, have been taught to show them due regard and consideration.

That the Governrment now feels that the strength which is in us is unconquerable.

That the majority of Indians who showed themselves quite cowardly before the struggle have gained vigor and courage. Those who were afraid even to whisper before that time, are now boldly speaking

out their minds as men; it is entirely due to the movement and to the majestic personality of Gandhi that the spirit of fearlessness has been bred among the people, so much so that at the 1921 session of the Congress open demands were made for a Republic and guerrilla warfare—things unheard of on the Congress platform.

That whereas before the struggle English-educated women only—and that too, a very small minority from among them—interested themselves in the public life of India, now women, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, are all taking an enthusiastic part in the movement: nay, they are the real inspirers and the mainstay of the struggle, for on them depends the translation of the Swadeshi doctrine into reality. Queen of the home, she has the first and last say in domestic affairs; if she insists on **Swadeshism,** the men-folk must obey. The spinning-wheel and the hand-loom are weaving the web of a new social order. Women are joyfully embracing the hardships of prison life by selling in streets the home-spun Khadi. They derive inspiration from the glorious traditions of the South African Passive Resistance Struggle when the Indian women exhorted the miners to strike and led the peaceful "army of invasion" from Natal to the borders of the Transvaal, the prohibited territory, and got arrested on the way. One of the most significant events of modern times, this march of the strikers; and they secured the redress of their grievances.

That jail life which seemed so dreadful to the people before, is no longer terrifying to them.

That although the bonfire of foreign cloth has involved a material loss to the people, it has done one singular good which no amount of money could have purchased for them, and which nothing but the actual struggle could have infused into them; namely, that **they have acquired much strength of mind and character.**

That but for the struggle the people of India and of the whole world would have remained ignorant of the tremendous latent spiritual powers of the Hindus.

That the Indian community now stands before the world fully acquitted of all charges of incompetency to organize and to manage, which used to be levelled against them formerly: nowhere in history is there a parallel to the calm and peace observed in India today after their beloved Leader, Mahatma Gandhi has been snatched away from them.

That the struggle compelled the British government to backslide now and then. It made the British Cabinet try at least two subterfuges, both of which have been foiled. Toward the beginning of 1921 the Duke of Connaught was sent to India to inaugurate the Reformed Councils, he was completely boycotted in the Imperial City of Delhi, and simultaneously Gandhi was enthusiastically cheered and listened to by the people. Toward the end of 1921 the Prince of Wales was sent to India by "the unscrupulous ministers of his Majesty's government" who intended to make a capital out of his apparently non-political visit by breaking the national spirit. In this, too, they failed because of the struggle. Incidentally, India and her grievances and her great Saint got publicity throughout the world which millions of dollars would not have secured.

That the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, brought about by insistent pressure upon the British government (which in the process cost the resignation of a Secretary of State for India) is "a great diplomatic gain" scored by the non-cooperation movement. It is hoped that this is the first step toward the annulment of the Treaty of Versailles, a most infamous conspiracy hatched by politicians in "a den of thieves" and sustained by fraud and treachery.

That the community has demonstrated to the world the invulnerability of "Truth"; better this than the riches of the whole world.

That by keeping its full faith in God the community has vindicated the glory of Religion. "Where there is Truth and where there is Religion, there alone is victory."

"On bestowing more thought on the question and looking at it from its various bearings, one can find much more to say as to the fruits thereof, than what has been stated above. The last one on the list, however, is incomparably the best of them all. Such a great fight could not have been carried on successfully without fully trusting in God. **He is our only prop all the time.** Those who put their implicit faith in Him cannot but reach their aims. The struggle will not have been carried on in vain, if, as a result of it, we shall have learnt to put still more trust in Him."

Chapter VI

SPRINGS OF ACTION

Section I

The movement of Passive Resistance, inaugurated by Gandhi, and sustained by the people of India, is entirely unique in the history of the world. "Why not give Christianity a trial?" exclaims Bernard Shaw. Behold, there in India they are giving a trial to Christianity. Passive resistance is an inadequate expression: it had better be called Satyagraha, i. e., holding fast to Truth—"Truth which dynamically expressed means Love." They have vowed to be friendly to everybody, including their oppressors. The value of the movement lies in the discipline it fosters. "We are out to be killed without killing." "Arrests and imprisonments are not to be resented but to be courted and welcomed." Essentially a religious struggle; and they want to "make friends with the English." Says Gandhi, "I believe in the power of suffering melting the stoniest of hearts." And it is this suffering, this penance they are undergoing, the Sons of Hindustan. For the first time in the world's history are the latent spiritual powers of man brought into play, full and unfettered, in the domain of politics, where what is said is often not meant. What is the actual form assumed by the "spiritual" movement? Non-Violent Non-Cooperation. The Mahatma has preached to his people the Doctrine of **Ahimsa.** "Literally speaking, **Ahimsa** means non-killing. But to me it has a world of meaning and

takes me into realms much higher, infinitely higher than the realm to which I would go, if I merely understood by **Ahimsa** non-killing. **Ahimsa** really means that you may not offend anybody, you may not harbor an uncharitable thought even in connection with one who may consider himself to be your enemy. Pray, notice the guarded nature of this thought; I do not say, 'whom you consider to be your enemy,' but 'who may consider himself to be your enemy.' For one who follows the doctrine of Ahimsa there is no room for an enemy; he denies the existence of an enemy. But there are people who consider themselves to be his enemies and he cannot help that circumstance. So, it is held that we may not harbor an evil thought even in connection with such persons. If we return blow for blow, we depart from the doctrine of **Ahimsa.** But I go further. If we resent a friend's action or the so-called enemy's action, we still fall short of this doctrine. But when I say, we should not resent, I do not say that we should acquiesce, but by resenting I mean wishing that some harm should be done to the enemy, or that he should be put out of the way, not even by any action of ours, but by the action of somebody else, or say, by Divine agency. If we harbor even this thought, we depart from this doctrine of **Ahimsa.**"

But if a bully is on the point of striking an innocent helpless child dead, the follower of Ahimsa may remove the child from the dangerous zone: indeed, the Dharma of Ahimsa does require that he must rescue the child from the blow of the monster. Because standing neutral and beholding the child struck, he becomes a party, passively if not actively, to the crime. The Dharma of Ahimsa (i. e., Love) lays down an injunction that one must not cooperate in a crime either passively or actively. The best thing under the circumstances to do is to withhold one's cooperation. If such non-cooperation results

in a supposed wrong to the aggrieved party, the non-cooperator is not to blame: he is simply doing his duty by himself, by the wronged, and also by the wrong-doer.

Non-Cooperation in politics rests on the fundamental political maxim that **sovereignty resides in the masses.** The good or evil obtaining in the governance of a country, is ultimately to be traced to the vigilance or negligence of the people. Not merely are the just powers of government derived from the consent of the governed, but also the unjust. The difference is simply this that whereas the unjust powers of government are derived from a passive consent of the people, the just ones are derived from active consent and cooperation. If there is misery or unhappiness in the land, more than the governrment are the people responsible for it. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance; the price of prosperity and justice is eternal Ahimsa—cooperate where you can, non-cooperate with the government where you must.

India exercised neither vigilance nor Ahimsa in the political sense. Therefore, if there is oppression in the land today, if there is misery, starvation, famine, death, if there is tyranny, if insults and humiliations are heaped upon the people today, she need not lay the blame on the English; rather must she blame herself. Having realized the sins of omission and commission, and the shame of her negligence, let her rise in the world a determined apostle of the New Order of Society, which shall know nothing of the hideous exploitation of men nor the ruination of war. "Behold, I give unto you a new gospel and a new commandment!"—thus the Apostle. Non-cooperate with government schools, government law courts, government councils—and you have Swaraj. "Civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion." To that end, the nation's attention must be rivetted on:

1. Cultivating the spirit of non-violence.
2. Setting up Congress organizations in every village.
3. Introducing the spinning-wheel in every home and manufacturing all the cloth required for our wants through the village weaver.
4. Collecting as much money as possible.
5. Promoting Hindu-Moslem unity.
6. Ridding Hinduism of the curse of untouchability and otherwise purifying ourselves by avoiding intoxicating drinks and drugs.

The surest sign of success is that the movement is spontaneous, sinking the differences of castes and creeds in the attainment of the ideal: Unity, that is the watchword of the struggle. Panchayets (ancient Indian republican institutions: Council of the Elderly Five) are springing up everywhere. National schools are being rapidly organized; in fourteen days alone, in the city of Ahmedabad, thirty-six national schools were started. Municipalities, like those of Surat and Ahmedabad, which had non-cooperated with the Government, have been rendered **defunct** by arbitrary Government fiat. The people have replied by declaring their faith in the members elected to the Municipality and have empowered them to form a responsible body, amenable not to the alien government but to the people. Plans are being matured for supporting this "responsible body" the people's Municipality, by such-like measures as the payment of taxes to it, and by investing it with necessary powers. People who formerly used to think—as a result of "slave psychology"—that everything that was good must be **Belati** (foreign: English), are now convinced that everything that is good must be **Swadeshi** (one's own). The spirit of fearlessness, fortitude, courageousness, patience, willingness to suffer even unto death, discipline, Ahimsa (i. e., Love), pride in their past glories—what more does a people need to work out

their salvation, political and spiritual, especially when they are guided by their unflinching captain, the world's greatest man, Mahatma Gandhi?

To see Gandhi is to know him. To know him is to love him. One's admiration for the man begins to grow, the moment one comes in contact with him, which in itself is liberal education, the unfoldment of one's spiritual vision. I have boundless respect for the Mahatma. Great indeed is my regard for him, greater still is my regard for India, for the people of India, for humanity at large, that produced the Saint. I cannot worship an individual, but through the greatness of this man, I have learnt to worship the multitude. Gandhi's unique personality is but a manifestation of the greatness of humanity: it is a tribute to the greatness of man. His arrest is but an incident in the great struggle of the great people of India.

To impose on him a sentence of six years' imprisonment is to make a very effective gesture from the Imperialist's point of view. The psychological reaction on the world, as intended, has been to believe in the existence, power and authority of the British Empire at least for six years to come. Men's minds have become oblivious of the real forces at work, which are trying to disrupt not merely the British Empire but all Empires and all Imperialism. The Hindus have listened to his message, and they have remained non-violent in spirit and in truth. Not with bomb-shells but with thought-shells, not at the point of the bayonet but at the point of the spindle, not with hatred but with love, will India win her freedom and the freedom of mankind. Young India today is the latest edition of the Great India of the Rishis and sages of old, justifying her unrivalled spiritual inheritance and consecrated to the ideal of Service to Humanity.

In times of crisis, the proper persons are always at hand. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, three-

times President of the Indian National Congress, in the beginning a non-cooperator with Gandhi's non-cooperation program, is now one of its foremost leaders since his signing the creed at the last session of Congress (December, 1921). A Moderate among moderates, Malaviya would not yield an inch to the extremist among Nationalists. Under his direction were held peaceful demonstrations all over India "in protest against the imprisonment of Gandhi." In April, 1921, Gandhi had inaugurated his Swaraj (Self-Rule) campaign. So after his imprisonment people celebrated the historic event by observing a "National Week," April 6th to 13th. The tenseness of the situation is revealed by their plan of an All-India Hartal (a form of peaceful, general strike) at its conclusion. No definite action seems to have been taken, but the situation throws a flood of light on the inner springs of action. There is silence in India. It is the silence of revolution. It is the calm preceding a storm!

The accredited leader of the nation today is Hakim Ajmal Khan, the fiery man of peace, the President of the last Congress. He recognizes the value of non-violence. Because of his physically weak condition, the burden of the task has fallen upon Mr. Raghavachariar, ex-president of the Congress and now editor of Gandhi's paper, "Young India"; upon Pundit Malaviya and upon Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the sweet Songstress of India, who is likely to be the President of the Congress. The term of Mr. C. R. Das' imprisonment, which was six months, will soon be over and then he will be at the helm of affairs.* In the meanwhile, Gandhi is enjoying his well-earned rest and quiet behind prison bars.

In response to a letter, before arrest, the Mahatma expressed himself thus to my friend, Mr. H. G. Govil.

*This was written in April, 1922. Mr. Das who was released from prison in due course of time was again elected President of the Congress, held at Gaya during the Christmas holidays of 1922.

"I am glad you recognize the truth of non-violence. We should deal patiently with those of our countrymen who do not understand it. It is a new experiment and we shall have to be extremely patient if we would make headway.

"Impatience also is a form of violence.

"I have no message for the world till the message I am humbly trying to deliver to India is truly delivered and imbibed. If it is successfully delivered in India, I know that my physical presence will nowhere be necessary to emphasize it but that it will permeate the whole world without the shadow of a doubt. But every worker abroad who endeavors to study the movement and interpret it correctly helps it.

"We can gain absolutely nothing by exaggeration or distortion of facts. Just as non-violence requires exemplary patience, it requires also exemplary truthfulness and a fine appreciation of one's own limitations."

Section II

Socrates was tried and given hemlock on the charge of spoiling the youths of Athens. Gandhi has been tried and sentenced to six years' imprisonment for spoiling the people of India, for inciting "disaffection" against the government. Some of the acts of Gandhi's life may well be placed in parallel juxtaposition to the acts of Jesus, and we will find that at least in some respects one is the other. The penitent prostitutes of Calcutta—how he gave them gentle words of advice and weaned them away from their inhuman traffic and presented each one with a spinning-wheel! Some of his utterances may well be placed alongside with the utterances of Jesus or Buddha—how very similar!

The size of the book will not permit me to quote any passages at length. In addition to the quotations interspersed in the book, are here presented

a few of the soul-stirring sentiments expressed by Mahatma Gandhi:

"A" THE DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

"But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature. A mouse hardly forgives a cat when it allows itself to be torn to pieces by her. I therefore appreciate the sentiment of those who cry out for the condign punishment of General Dyer and his ilk. They would tear him to pieces if they could. But I do not believe India to be helpless, I do not believe myself to be a helpless creature. Only I want to use India's and my strength for a better purpose.

"Let me not be misunderstood. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. A definite forgiveness would, therefore, mean a definite recognition of our strength. With enlightened forgiveness must come the mighty wave of strength in us which would make it impossible for a Dyer and a Frank Johnson to heap affront upon India's devoted head. It matters little to me that for the moment I do not drive my point home. We feel too downtrodden not to be angry and revengeful. But I must not refrain from saying that India can gain more by waiving the right of punishment. We have better work to do, a better mission to deliver to the world.

"I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man

requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit.

"I have therefore ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice. For Satyagrah and its off-shoots, non-cooperation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. The Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realized their uselessness and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence.

"Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the putting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honor, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration.

"And so I am not pleading for India to practice non-violence because she is weak. I want her to practice non-violence, being conscious of her strength and power. No training in arms is required for realization of her strength. We seem to need it because we seem to think that we are but a lump of flesh. I want India to recognize that she has a soul that cannot perish and that can rise triumphant above every physical weakness and defy the physical combination of a whole world."

"B" THE VOW OF NON-THIEVING

"I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anything that I do not need for my own immediate use, and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of Nature, without exception, that Nature pro-

duces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world, there would be no man dying of starvation in this world. But so long as we have got this inequality, so long we are thieving. I am no socialist and I do not want to dispossess those who have got possessions;* but I do say that, personally, those of us who want to see light out of darkness have to follow this rule. I do not want to dispossess anybody. I should then be departing from the rule of Ahimsa. If somebody else possess more than I do, let him. But so far as my own life has to be regulated, I do say that I dare not possess anything which I do not want. In India we have got three millions of people having to be satisfied with one meal a day, and that meal consisting of a chapatti containing no fat in it, and a pinch of salt. You and I have no right to anything that we really have until these three millions are clothed and fed better. You and I, who ought to know better, must adjust our wants, and even undergo voluntary starvation, in order that they may be nursed, fed and clothed." (Quoted from Gandhi's address to Madras students on Satyagrah-Ashram.)

"C" NON-COOPERATION A PURIFYING MOVEMENT

"The fact is that Non-Cooperation by reason of its non-violence has become a religious and purifying movement. It is daily bringing strength to the nation, showing it its weak spots and the remedy for removing them. It is a movement of self-reliance. It is the mightiest force for revolutionizing opinion

*It is unfortunate that Gandhi should have misread the Socialist movement. The purpose of Socialism is not "to dispossess those who have got possessions"; it is rather to prevent a clique of domineering financiers from "dispossessing" mankind of its "natural possessions," the bounties of Nature and the rewards of man's labor.—H. T. M.

and stimulating thought. It is a movement of self-imposed suffering and therefore possesses automatic checks against extravagance or impatience. The capacity of the nation for suffering regulates its advance toward freedom. It isolates the forces of evil by refraining from participation in it in any shape or form."

"D" WAR WITH THE LATEST WEAPON

"The war which the people of India have declared and which will purify and consolidate India is a war with the latest and most effective weapon. In this war, what has hitherto been in the world an undesirable but necessary incident in freedom's battles, the killing of innocent men, has been eliminated; and that which is the true essential for forging liberty, the self-purification and self-strengthening of men and women, has been kept pure and unalloyed."

Chapter VII

AS THE WORLD SEES HIM

"He (Gandhi) is the soul of India in revolt, the spirit of Indian discontent, the assertion of the East's equality with the West, the most powerful and at the same time the most puzzling personality in India today. * * * He baffles classification. Here, for example, are a few estimates that came within my own knowledge. 'Sir, he is a God,' was the reverent verdict of a Bengali stationmaster; 'God has given only one Gandhi Sahib in this millennium,' was the fine tribute of an unlettered villager; 'Gandhi is our Mahatma' (our superman), was the faith of a student disciple; 'This man reminds me of the Apostle Paul,' said a shrewd Government official who had evidently been to Sunday School in his youth. 'Beware of Gandhi,' wrote a valued friend, 'He is a revolutionary of a most dangerous type.' I have heard him further described as a 'charlatan,' a 'madman' a 'visionary,' a 'menace to British rule'; an 'astute politician who hides his real designs under a mask of guileless simplicity'; an 'irresponsible and unscrupulous agitator,' a 'country cousin,' the 'savior of his country,' and the 'egregious Mr. Gandhi' (who is a 'thrawn devil'). This, then, is no common man, be he revolutionary or revolutionary prophet or politician, saint or sinner, agitator or statesman, madman or wiseman, savior or wrecker, mere man or superman; come he in peace or come he in war, he arrests attention and demands a hearing."—J. Z. Hodgend ("Glasgow Herald").

" * * * this amazing and dangerous man, who in solitude bestrides the field of Indian sedition like a Colossus. In truth he is alone. He does not seem to need lieutenants or councillors, who embarrass him with their practical suggestions as much as Mr. Gandhi bewilders them by his pure Utopianism. Whether they remain or desert him makes no difference; his appeal is to the lowest of the population and his strength lies precisely in the fact that his teaching is a visionary reconstruction of the Golden Age based upon universal loving-kindness. He preaches to the heart and despises the head. And, therefore, he has no parallel in the world today either in the semi-divine character of his influence or in the magnitude of the disaster which will attend his success.

"Seated on the floor in a small, barely-furnished room, I found the Mahatma, clad in tough, white home-spun. He turned up to me, with a smile of welcome, the typical head of the idealist—the skull well-formed and finely modelled; the face narrowing to the pointed chin. His eyes are deep, kindly and entirely sane; his hair is greying a little over the forehead. He speaks gently and well, and in his voice is a note of detachment which lends uncanny force to the strange doctrines that he has given up his life to teach. One could not imagine him ruffled, hasty, or resentful; not the least part of the moral supremacy in his crusade is his universally known willingness to turn the other cheek to the smiter. From the first it must be realized that consciously his teaching has been influenced by that of Christ for whom his admiration has long been the almost dominating feature of his spiritual life, and probably the external character of his daily activity has been modelled also upon Him. He made a curious observation during our conversation which throws some light upon his interpretation of the Galilean Teacher. In answer to a remark of

mine that Christ strictly abstained from interfering in politics, Mr. Gandhi answered, 'I do not think so, but if you are right, the less Christ in that was He.'

"The achievement of an ideal world built upon selflessness and governed by loving-kindness alone, which has proved too much for the Christian nations, seems to Mr. Gandhi a self-evident possibility."—Perceval Landon ("Daily Telegraph," London).

"We might imagine him (Gandhi) a kind of Indian Tolstoy, in his professed aversion from force and his contempt for realities. But he is a Tolstoy with a difference; and he moves in a different atmosphere. The Russian prophet was content to preach and write, he detested practical politics too much to meddle with them. Gandhi translates his spiritual faith into crude and violent action or his followers do it for him."—"Daily Telegraph," London.

"I understand the Nagpur gathering to be the largest ever held in the history of Indian nationalism; indeed, it is easy to believe that it was the biggest political assembly the world has seen. Nearly thirty thousand people drawn from all parts of India crowded the pandal each day. Men and women of every social station and of every creed were there. High-caste Brahmins rubbed shoulders with "untouchables," cultured Indians mingled freely with those who have been denied educational opportunity. Doubt has been cast on the representative character of the Congress and it is unfortunately true that certain well-known Moderates indicate disapproval of the present policy, by absenting themselves. But their refusal to 'cooperate' can hardly be said to destroy the really representative composition of the gathering. Moderate opinion was there and found utterance in more than one able speech. It had, however, to subordinate itself to the overwhelming volume of contrary opinion. And because the tide appeared to be running strongly one way, it is as

unfair as it is incorrect to allege that the Congress was solely 'Extremist' in character. Those who make the allegation apparently forget that the majority of Indians under the pressure of circumstances are rapidly becoming 'Extremist.' In India, as in Ireland, Government policy or lack of policy is driving steady, moderate men and women into the ranks of the advanced political army. At all events the Nagpur Congress showed a solidarity in purpose that is bound to impress the world. Extremism is becoming the normal and the cry 'Bande-Mataram' is fusing the most divergent elements in Indian life. As a spectacle the Congress was profoundly impressive; was it not also prophecy of an India so united as to be irresistible?

"Of course the central figure was Mahatma Gandhi. Who and what is this man of whom it can be said, as it was said of one of old, that even his enemies 'can find no fault in him'? His bitterest opponents unite in tributes to his apparent sincerity, moral courage and spiritual intensity. * * * Even Sir Valentine Chirol, while of opinion that Gandhi is 'more unbalanced,' suggests that he has 'increased in spiritual status.' Some folks believe Mahatmaji is mad but all who know him agree that he is good. In this topsy-turvy world it may well be that goodness and honesty lie strangely near to madness. In an age of false values what chance has right? And with Truth on the scaffold and Wrong on the throne it is too much to expect fair estimates of men and movements. Still, to those who have met and talked with Gandhi, who have seen him in a small business meeting or holding vast multitudes under some subtler spell than mere oratory produces; who have sat alone with him in the quiet, or seen the eager throng pressing around to touch the hem of his garment or to kneel and touch his foot, to those he seems to possess a power granted to few. Call it madness if you like, there is a strength in that

frail body which defies all the combinations of political expediency, however highly organized they may be. Gandhi has probably a larger following than any living man. And it is not 'masses' only who accept his leadership. He is 'Mahatmaji' to intellectuals; even highly-placed officers of the Government exist who recognize in him the compelling authority of real character. The West has produced a Lenin, strong, masterful, relentless, alike in logic and method. The East has given birth to a Gandhi, equally strong, masterful and relentless. But whilst the former pins his faith on force, the latter relies on non-resistance. One trusts the sword, the other trusts the spirit. In an extraordinary manner these men appear to incarnate those fundamentally opposing forces that, behind all the surface struggles of our day, are fighting for supremacy."—Ben C. Spoor, M. P.

"The thing that is to me so wonderful, the thing that is touchingly beautiful, so significant of the fundamental spirituality of our people is their devotion to Gandhi." * * * "Gandhi is a saint and saints have still a chance in India."—Tagore.

"'I believe absolutely,' says Gandhi, 'that India has a mission for the world.' His idealism, therefore, transcends the boundaries of race and country, and seeks to make itself one with the highest hopes of humanity. 'My religion,' he cries, 'has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself.'

"Such is Mahatma Gandhi! In this great spirit, he lives among the people. As he moves from city to city, crowds of thirty and even fifty thousand people assemble to hear his words. As he pauses for the night in a village, or in the open countryside, great throngs come to him as to a holy shrine. He would seem to be what the Indians regard him—the perfect and universal man. In his personal character, he is simple and undefiled. In his political

endeavors, he is as stern a realist as Lenin; working steadfastly toward a far goal of liberation which must be won. At the same time, however, he is an idealist like Romain Rolland, living ever in the pure radiance of the spirit. When I think of Rolland, as I have said, I think of Tolstoy. When I think of Lenin, I think of Napoleon. But when I think of Gandhi, I think of Jesus Christ. He lives his life; he speaks his word; he suffers, strives and will some day nobly die for his kingdom upon earth." —John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church, New York (in his famous sermon on "Who Is the Greatest Man in the World Today").

"Had India been Christian, India would have stood free long ago; for the Catholic sacramental system is a source of soul-force no human conception could ever rival. But of its human substitutes, Mr. Gandhi's system is certainly the best, and it were mean to close one's eyes on its beauty."—The "Catholic Herald" of India.

"I have myself often and often watched Mahatma Gandhi in the heart of the great city of Durban, in South Africa, with hundreds of poor indentured Indian men and women and children about him. Apart from his aid, these poor laborers might have been driven back to work on the sugar plantation at starving wages while the absentee shareholders, with their motor-car comforts were reaping their unearned increment out of this servile labor. I have dwelt with Mahatma Gandhi in the India 'location' at Pretoria, and in other places, where the Indian poor people—the washermen, the vegetable-sellers, and others have been treated like pariahs, while the rich magnates of the gold reef of the Rand built their palatial mansions. And here in India, as we all know, Mahatma Gandhi has incessantly toiled among the mill-hands of Ahmedabad, among the oppressed villagers of Champaran and Kheda, and in the thousand other ways. He has gained his ex-

perience of the life of the poor in the only one way in which it is possible to learn it, by living himself as a poor man and by working with his own hands, as a laborer."—Reverend C. F. Andrews (in the "Modern Review," Calcutta).

"Gandhi specializes in giving up, in reducing his wants; his recreation is fasting and making his disciples fast. He looks so physically frail and weak and small that one could carry him as one does a child, and he makes one feel that toward him. He is as serious as any child, and as pure. All this has captured India. One does not feel it blasphemous to compare him with Christ; and Christ, too, one suspects, gave infinite trouble to reasonable and respectable followers. For Gandhi is a philosophic anarchist—a new edition of Tolstoy's past, and a Tolstóy who has long since subdued Nature and shrunk into simplicity."—Col. Josiah Wedgewood, M. P. (in the "Nation," London).

"Your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian, but of all the world, will unavoidably take part."—Tolstoy (from a letter to Gandhi).

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"I frankly confess, though it deeply grieves me to say it, that I see in Mr. Gandhi the patient sufferer for the cause of righteousness and mercy, a truer representative of the Crucified Savior than the men who have thrown him into prison and yet call themselves by the name of Christ."—The Lord Bishop of Madras, December, 1913.

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"Persons in power should be very careful how they deal with a man who cares nothing for sensual pleasure, nothing for riches, nothing for comfort or praise or promotion, but is simply determined to

do what he believes to be right. He is a dangerous and uncomfortable enemy because his body, which you can always conquer, gives you so little purchase upon his soul."—Professor Gilbert Murray (in the "Hibert Journal," 1917).

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"Among us, as I write, is dwelling for brief space one whose presence is a benediction, and whose feet sanctify every house into which he enters—Gandhi, our Martyr and Saint. He, too, by strange ways was led into circumstances in which alone could flower all that he brought with him of patient, unwearying courage that naught might daunt, unselfishness that found its joy in sacrifice, endurance so sweetly gentle that its power was not readily understood. As I stood for a moment facing him, hand clasped in hand, I saw in him that deathless Spirit which redeems by suffering, and in death wins life for others, one of those marked out for the high service of becoming Saviors and Helpers of humanity. I who tread the path of the warrior, not that of the Saint, who battle against Enthroned Injustice by assault, not by meekness, I recognize in this man, so frail and yet so mighty, one of those whose names live in history among those of whom it is said: 'He saved others; himself he could not save'."—Mrs. Annie Besant (in "New India," October, 1917).

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"There emerged a small, almost emaciated figure with bare head and feet, wrapped in a nondescript shawl—such as Lincoln used to wear. He sat down cross-legged, indifferent to the shouting, acknowledging neither by word nor gesture the acclamation with which he was being received. It struck me that this was not a man to be tempted cheaply. He probably weighed mob enthusiasm for what it was worth—compounded of mere love of shouting, of violent waving of arms, of curiosity, of tribute-paying

instincts expressing themselves primarily in homage to the man rather than his ideas. Nevertheless, Mr. Gandhi is not, as he is so often described, an impractical idealist. He knows only too well the strength of mass support to his cause. * * *

"As he rose for the first time, dropping off his blanket shawl and appearing clad only in a very short dhoti (loin-cloth), in accordance with a recent resolve he had made to share the utmost poverty of his people, I saw, to my surprise, an expression of sophisticated amusement run across the faces of those nearest the platform. But if for one moment a few people laughed, the laughter ceased abruptly. Mr. Gandhi began to speak in a voice that at first sounded a note of great physical exhaustion, but after a few moments shook off this weariness and rang out with arresting urgency. He is not an orator. His right thin hand with fingers bent flexibly backward at the tips made the same automatic gesture again and again. He did not plead with his audience. He made no attempt to flatter it. Rather did he seem to be speaking in anger and bitterness of heart. He was asking the people how they expected to have Swaraj when they would not work for it, when they would not adopt the vow of Swadeshi and thus make India self-sustaining as she was of old; when, through incapacity to deny themselves comforts or to suffer, they showed themselves unprepared for true self-rule. Some of the familiar catch-words I caught. A stout Moslem gentleman who sat near me on the floor of the platform occasionally acted as an interpreter.

"But the text of Gandhi's face was what chiefly interested me. I am almost tempted to call him ugly. To begin with, his head is small, even for his short stature, though possibly the proportionately broad Indian shoulders make it seem more so. Close-cropped, iron-grey hair with the long wisp usually worn by Hindus—I never saw Gandhi himself wear-

ing the cap his followers have adopted—a forehead with very deep horizontal lines, a long nose shadowing a distinctly Oriental mouth with a clipped moustache, thin cheeks, dark eyes rather far apart with definite eyebrows and heavy eyelids—such is his general appearance as well as I can describe it. Perhaps it is the effect of sharp features too much crowded into the lower half of the face that is its most distinctive characteristic. Perhaps it is the troubled forehead and the deep-set lines running from nose to chin. The lines are those of suffering and old age, now not very far away, although in years Mr. Gandhi is only just fifty-two. When he smiles, one notes with a shock how the lines in his face deepen and how the absence of two or three teeth in the lower jaw accentuates the impression of advancing age. There was something inappropriate about that smile. Gandhi once remarked to me that it was his sense of humor which kept him going sometimes. But I have heard many people lay claim to a sense of humor when I could never discover a trace of one. So it was with Gandhi. His smile was not of the troubled soul. It broke around the mouth and passed quickly, like a veil thrown for a fraction of a second across the settled melancholy of the face. Many Indian faces wear that same melancholy. Sometimes it is sunk in apathy, often it expresses itself in conscious discontent, but whatever its varying shades, it has seemed to me fundamental to Indian thought. It is a flag of the mind. You never see it reflected in a Malayan face, for instance. As for the eyes of this man, they suggest a stern and critical appraisal of everything coming within range of their vision and a curious detachment. It is so that one looks out on a glittering tropical sea or toward the desert horizon."—Miss Gertrude Emerson (in "Asia," New York, May, 1922).

"I first met him in South Africa early in 1914 just after he had been released from prison for leading the Indian community in his movement of Passive Resistance against the government. I remember my first glimpse of him as, surrounded by other Indians, he stood on the wharf upon the arrival of the steamer in which I had come from India. He was dressed in simple homespun, had no hat on his head and was barefoot. He is not striking in appearance, though on closer acquaintance with him it is impossible not to be struck with the singular sweetness of his expression. As I saw him working for the coolies on the sugar plantations and greeting them often by name, I was forcibly reminded of Saint Francis of Assisi. Whenever he traveled he went by the third class, which is usually patronized by the Kaffirs, and he always preferred to walk except when time made it advisable for him to drive.

" * * * Gandhi never is diplomatic. He always lays all his cards on the table and his opponent is often unable to believe that he has nothing ulterior in his motives. Open diplomacy has always been Gandhi's strength.

"Another characteristic is his chivalry to an opponent. Just when he was to start the Passive Resistance campaign again early in 1914 as a protest against the appointment of a commission without adequate Indian representation, a strike broke out among the white workers on the Rand. Gandhi immediately announced that his Passive Resistance would be indefinitely postponed until the government was no longer embarrassed by this strike. This chivalry proved to be a stroke of diplomacy, for it won the admiration of General Smuts and of many who would not otherwise have sympathized with his political ideals. But it was not intended as a diplomatic move. * * *

"I visited him at this settlement where every member of the community does some service for the

whole. Gandhi himself was exceptional only in that he did far more when he was there than any other individual member. It was at Phoenix that his characteristic unselfishness of conduct was most evident. Often did I protest against the way in which Mr. Gandhi in the midst of great public responsibilities spent his valuable hours in menial tasks which could so easily have been carried out by less prominent members of his community.

"When the Honorable Mr. Gokhale was a guest at Phoenix he had the same experience and he often told humorously of the heartless tyranny of his host who insisted upon doing the most menial tasks, including that of a sweeper, for his guests. To such protests he would reply that as regards a piece of work which had to be done and got through with, there was no highness or lowness about it—if a piece of work was thought to be too dirty for him (Gandhi), it should be regarded as too dirty and low even for a poor sweeper, who was just as much a human being as he himself.

"Gandhi has been able to unite the people of India as they have never been united before, not only because of his unfaltering loyalty to a moral ideal and his austere and ascetic personal life, but because the British government has itself, by repeated acts, fed fuel to the fires of national aspiration.

"Confronting the most powerful empire in existence stands this one man, who cares nothing for his own personal safety, who is uncompromising and fearless in the application of principles which he has once accepted, and who scorns any longer to receive or beg for favors from a government which he regards as having 'forfeited all title to confidence, respect or support.' He believes in conquering hate by love, in the triumph of right over might, and all the effort of his public life is directed towards persuading the masses in India of the truth

of his ideal."—W. W. Pearson (in the "New Republic," New York, July, 1921).

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"A small, slim, dark, composed man with the untiring energy of Roosevelt, the human sympathy of Debs and the philosophy of Tolstoi, Gandhi has developed into a force so potent that the English dare not imprison him."—Vincent Anderson (in the "Nation," New York, Dec. 1921).

"When an alien government arrests a national hero, who, its own apologists admit, is the most saintly figure in the modern world, no further proof is required that it rests its case on naked force.

"Consider the man. In the space of a few years he has done more for his people than any government in centuries. He has been the bearer of new hope and dignity to the untouchables; he has been the weaver of bonds of unity between the Moslems and the Hindus whom the British would keep asunder; he has fought the liquor traffic which was debasing his people, and the infamous opium monopoly, by which, for its own profit, the British Government menaces not only India but all mankind. He has given to revolution non-violent instruments which promise the release of humanity from the seeming necessity of wars for freedom. He has sincerely preached love for enemy. Not he but Lord Reading, by his refusal to abandon repression, prevented the proposed Round Table Conference, which might have furthered the peaceful settlement of grievances. Even on the vexed question of the Caliphate, we believe that Gandhi's voice might have been potent in persuading his Moslem friends to grant to non-Moslem communities the justice they seek for themselves. And it is this hope which the British Government has almost shattered—apparently with the consent of those British liberals who would approve the deportation or imprisonment of Gandhi, while they praise his saintliness! Yet that hope is not dead while

Gandhi's spirit is powerful in India. How long his people will follow the way he pointed out, we do not know; already there are signs of revolt. But this we know: If the Indian people, like the oppressed of other lands, finally take the way of the sword, the primary blame for the tragedy that will follow must rest not on those who have preached freedom and justice or even on those who seek them by violence, but on those who have made violence the very foundation of their continuing dominion over unwilling subjects."—"The Nation," New York, March, 1922.

" * * * A Government confronted with a universal determination to ignore its existence really finds itself in an embarrassing predicament. Against such tactics on the part of the subject people the only methods it can use are ineffectual. It can, of course, do its best with imprisonment, arson and murder, as was done, with indifferent success, in Ireland. These methods are now in for a good trying in India, and they will be tried there, as they were in Ireland, in order to satisfy a group of bloodthirsty extremists who are congenitally incapable of learning from experience. They will fail in India, as they did in Ireland, and when they have failed the Government will own defeat, and come to the best terms it can with the nationalists. This will not put an end to India's trouble any more than it has put an end to Ireland's; but it will prove again a proposition which seems to need proving all too often, that no people, however moral the purposes it professes, can dominate another people with either practical or spiritual success."—"The Freeman," New York, March 22, 1922.

"Readers of this speech (Gandhi's statement before the Court) will recognize it as one of the most important ever delivered by a liberator of humankind. It is worthy of preservation by the side of the speeches of Robert Emmet and Eugene Victor Debs when these two men received their sentences. Read-

ing it one feels that British imperialism is in the dock and not Gandhi. He passes sentence upon a hateful regime, a sentence that will be approved by the free peoples of the future.

"There is no trace of fear. No retraction, no apology is made for his conduct. 'I know that I was playing with fire,' said Gandhi. 'I ran the risk, and if I were set free I would do the same. I felt this morning that I would have failed in my duty if I did not say what I said here just now.'

"Nor is there any trace of the braggart or of the egotist seeking notoriety in this address. No tricks of oratory are resorted to. It is a calmly reasoned and passionless address which, with iron logic. places British imperialism in the pillory for all time. He asks no mercy from his tormentors, and frankly admits that he has earned the penalty imposed. He was before the court 'for what in law is a deliberate crime and what appears to me to be the highest duty of a citizen.'

. . . .

"In the perspective of history we would rather stand by the side of Mahatma Gandhi in his prison cell than by the side of the judicial tools who have consigned him to isolation. At the same time this glorious figure in India's struggle should command the support of every movement in every country that appreciates Gandhi's service to humanity. Hot resentment should be expressed and appeals be made for his release. It is atrocious that this great figure should be caged for six years while alien upstarts strut with power in the land whose free air is denied to him."—New York "Call."

"'It is only India that knows how to honor greatness in rags,' said a friend to me one day, as we watched Mahatma Gandhi, cleaving his way through the assembly at Lucknow last year. For surely the sudden appearance of Saint Francis of Assissi in his tattered robe in the fashionable purlieus of London or Milan, Paris or Petrograd today were scarcely more

disconcerting or incongruous than the presence of this strange man with his bare feet and coarse garments, his tranquil eyes, and calm, kind smile that disclaims even when it acknowledges a homage that emperors cannot deny. * * * Who can deny that this inexorable idealist who would reduce all life to an impossible formula is a most vital personal force in National self-realization? He has mastered the secret of real greatness and learnt that true Yoga is wisdom in action and that love is the fulfilling of the law."—Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (in a Foreword to Mahatma Gandhi—Ganesh & Co., Madras, India, 1917).

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"This man holds absolutely in his hands today the destinies of his people. When Gandhi speaks, it is India that speaks. When Gandhi acts, it is India that acts. When Gandhi is arrested, it is India that is outraged and humiliated. More truly, I believe, than any other man who has ever lived, this great Indian is the incarnation of a people's soul."—John Haynes Holmes (in his sermon, The World Significance of Mahatma Gandhi, March 12, 1922).

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"Such an one as Gandhi comes at long intervals to this planet and then when humanity is in dire need! Let it not be said of him in the future—as the clear visioned Christian of today must say of Jesus of Nazareth—that he came before his people were ready for his teaching and leadership!"—Miss Blanche Watson, New York.

GANDHI

Not with a clamor of golden deeds,
  Nor girth with brazen armor doth he come;
No heralds trumpet him on royal steeds,
  His armies follow not with martial drum,
Nor sword, nor shield, nor helmet hath he known,
  Whose sun but now hath risen in its place,
Whose kingdom cometh grandly to its own
  Mid the eternal triumphs of the race.

Have you at times been swept beyond all creed
  By some new-dawning vision of the right?
Your mind ablaze with thoughts of human need,
  Drawn heavenward within a wakeful night?
Have you said then, your faint soul strong at last;
  "Whatever be the torture of this goal,
Here and here only shall my lot be cast—
  This is the plan God fashioned for my soul!"

Then look on Gandhi, Hindu saint and seer;
  Lo, in the living flesh behold your vow—
The ancient Truth grown intimate and near,
  That God may find His Image, here and now,
Here is the heart that dares defy the strain
  And terror of conditions as they are;
Here is the sturdy will, immune to pain,
  Here is the soul that dares become a star.

Here is the noble intellect that saw
  Beyond the spasm of our human lust
The silent grandeur of eternal law,
  Wheeling its winged way above our dust.
And linked his being with that lofty scheme
  And ordered all his ways that he might find
Out of the infinite, a way supreme
  To bring immortal justice for his kind.

How like a sun he shines above our dearth!
How like a man he leans unto the earth.
  He is the answer to your faith and mine—
  Man by his love for man, becomes divine.
    —Angela Morgan ("Unity," Chicago).

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